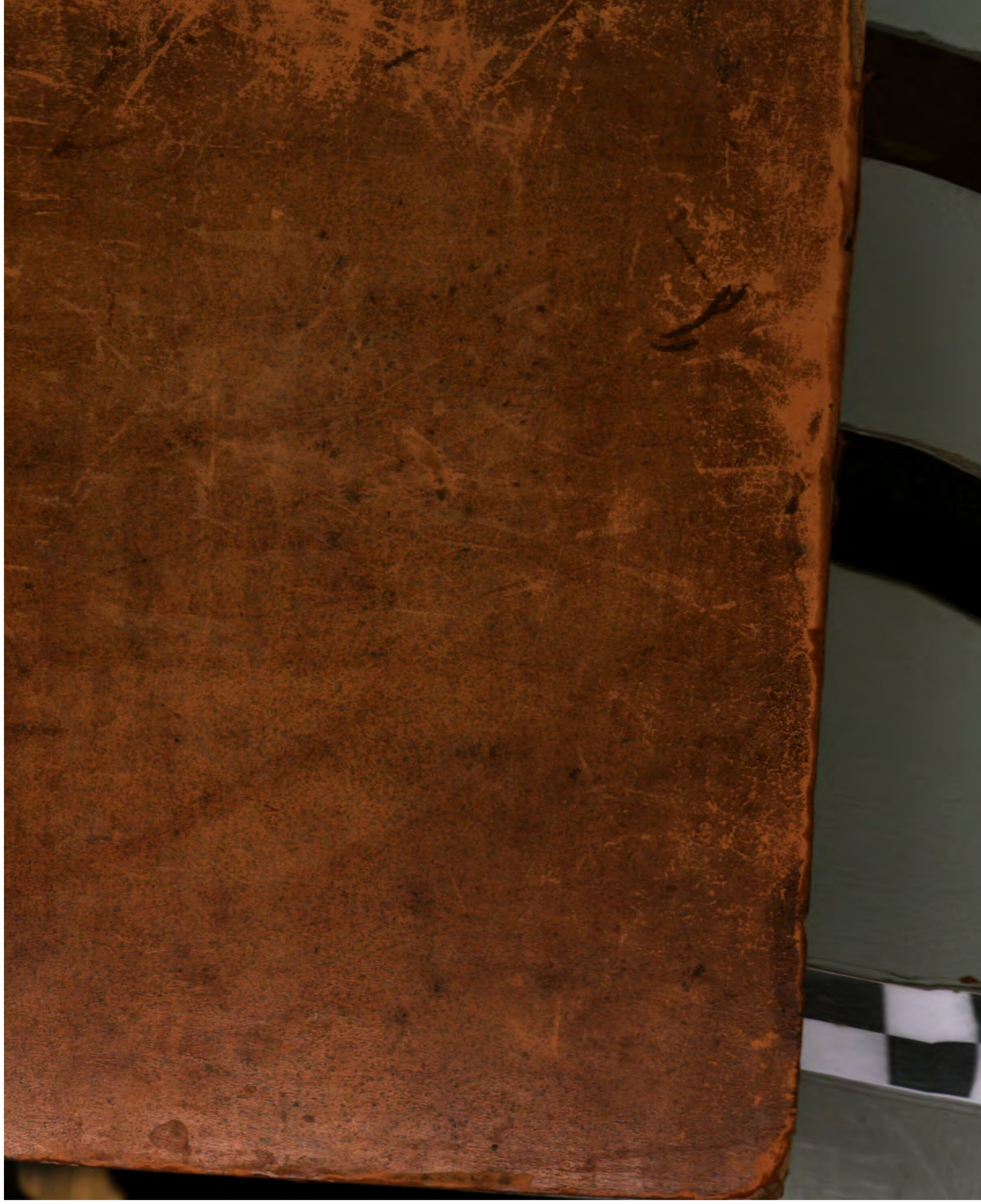
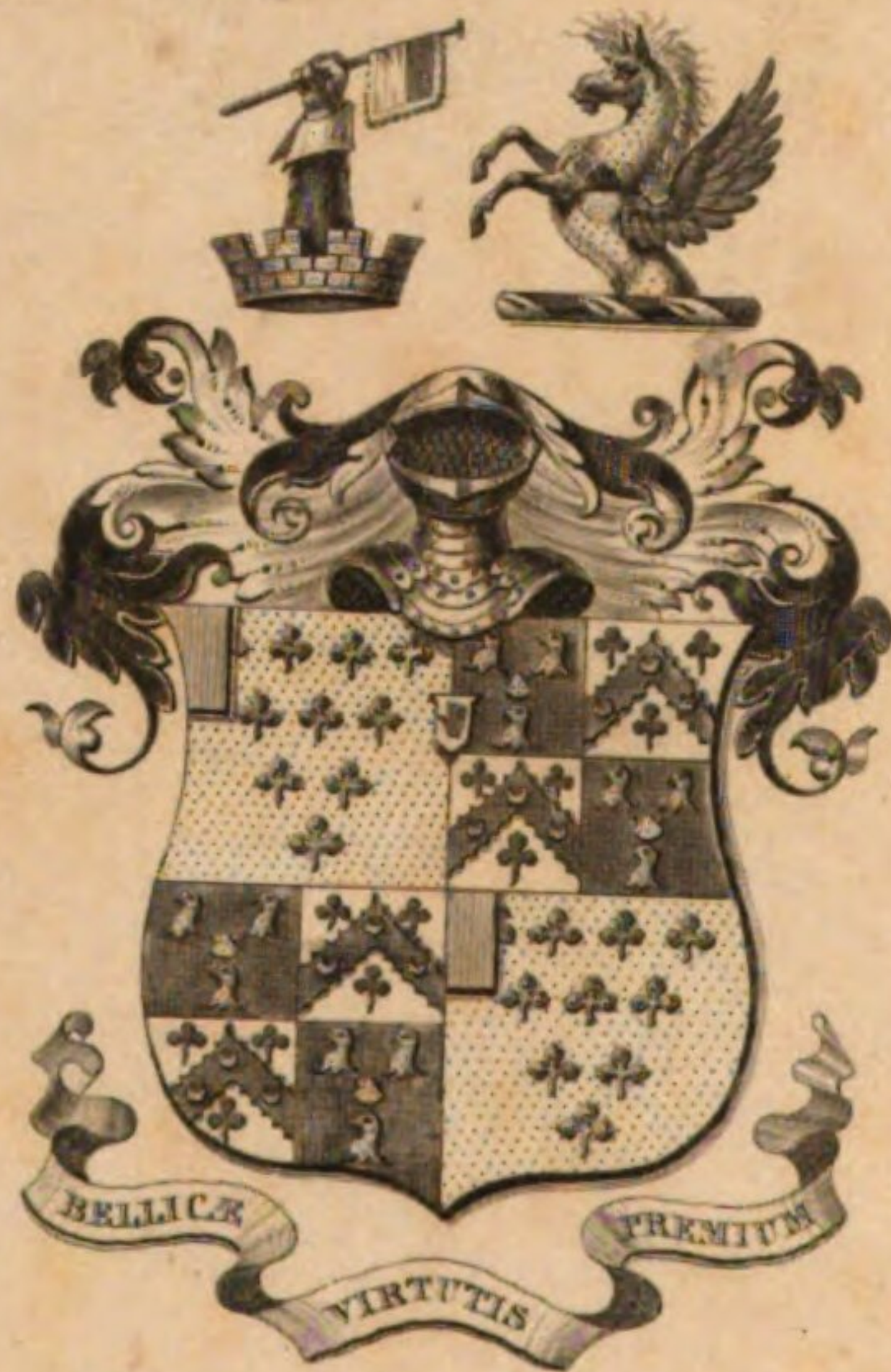




4^o H. sept.

89 H. K. (2)



Sir Tho. E. M. Turton, Bart.

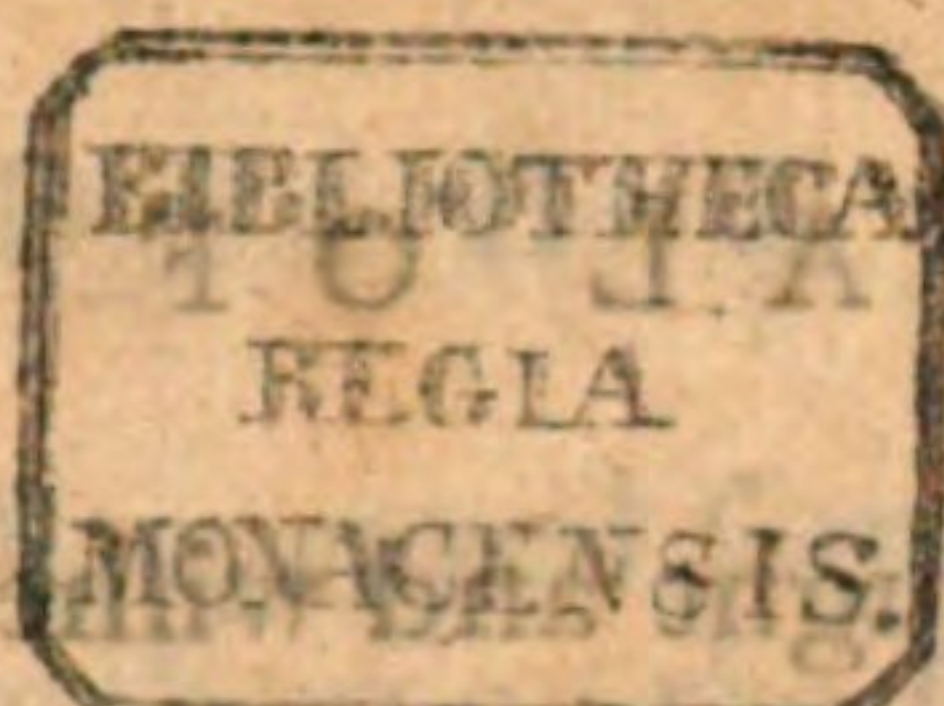
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1654. to him, as Whitelocke the... reported by Bloome unto the Chancellor.

Therefore, among other discourses, Whitelocke told Bloome that France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Holland, Sweden, and other states had sent their publick ministers to the protector, desiring his ship with him; but his highness, having sent his ambassador into this kingdom, they had testified so little respect to him, that in three or four days they had not vouchsafed to give him an answer to his proposals.

JOURNAL OF THE SWEDISH AMBASSY.

MARCH 25, 1654.

THIS day, by the swedish computation, as well as 1654. that of England, is the first day of the year 1654. Mar. 25.

Mr. Bloome came to Whitelocke with a complement from the chancellor, that he was sorry he could not visit Whitelocke before his going out of towne, bicause he was ill, and retired himselfe into the countrey to be quit from buisnes and to recover his health; and att his returne he would come to Whitelocke and conferre with him.

This gentleman Whitelocke apprehended to be often sent to him, as a spye, to inquire of his intentions; and therefore he thought good to make use of him by telling such things

1654. to him, as Whitelocke thought and wished might be agayne
 Mar. 25. ^{reported} by Bloome unto the chancellor.

Therefore, among other discourses, Whitelocke told Bloome, that France, Spayne, Portugall, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Denmarke, and other princes and states, had sent their publique ministers to the protector, desiring friendship with him; butt his highnes, having sent his ambassador into this kingdome, they had testified so little respect to him, that in three or four moneths time they had not vouchsafed to give him an answer to his propofalls.

Mr. Symonds, an englishman, excellent in his art of graving and taking off pictures in little, in waxe, for which he had regard in this court, and promises of money; this person often frequented Whitelocke, his countryman, and his house; and, after some time, made a request to Whitelocke to speake to the queen in his favour.

Whitelocke, knowing that ambassadors' offices ought not to be cheape, told Symonds in a kind of drollery, that surely he could not expect such a courtesy from him, since, being an englishman, he had not acquainted the english ambassador with any matter of consequence, nor done any service to his countrey since Whitelocke's arrivall heer; that, when he should deserve it, Whitelocke would be ready to doe him service.

26. The *Lord's day*. Divers English and Scotts came to the publique dueties of the day in Whitelocke's house; and amongst other discourse, Whitelocke learnt from them, that Waters, one of his trumpetts, going late in the evening to his lodging, was sett uppon by some drunkards, with their swords, and wounded, wherof he continued very ill. White-
 locke

locke examined and reprov'd some of his company for disorders committed by them on the *Lord's day* and other dayes, which he told them he would not beare: and it was the worse in their committment of those crimes, and the lesse reason for them to expect a connivence therat, bicause Whitelocke had so often and so publicquely inveighed against the prophanation of that day in this place; butt among 100 some will be always found base, vitious, and wicked.

1654.
Mar. 26.

This being Easter Monday, some of Whitelocke's people went to the castle to hear the queen's musick in her chappell, which they reported to Whitelocke to be very curious; and that, in the afternoon, was appointed an antient solemnity of running att the ring.

27.

Some Italians of the queen's musick dined with Whitelocke, and afterwards sang to him, and presented him with a book of their songs, which, according to expectation, was not unrewarded.

Whitelocke went not abroade this festivall time to visit any body, nor did any grandees come to visit him: he had an imagination that they might be forbidden to doe it, the rather bicause Piementelle and Woolfeldt, who were accustomed to come often to him, had of late refrained to doe it, and had not answered Whitelocke's last visite in ten dayes.

The queen had also excused her not admitting Whitelocke to have audiences, by saying she was buisy, or sick; when, att the same time, Piementelle and others were admitted to her presence, and for two or three howers together discourse with her: this was recented and spoken of by Whitelocke, so as it might come to the queen's eare.

1654. After the master of the ceremonies had dined with Whitelocke, and was in a good humor, he desired Whitelocke to withdraw from the rest of the strangers, and that he might speake privately with him; and, going in to the bed-chamber, the master told him, that he had heard from some that Whitelocke had expressed a discontent, and the master desired to know if any had given him offence, or if there were any thing wherein the master might doe him service.

Mar. 28.

Whitelocke said, he apprehended some occasion of discontent, in that he had attended heer neer four moneths, and had not yett obtained any answer to his propofalls: the master excused the delay, in regard of the queen's purpose of quitting the government. Whitelocke said, he believed that occasioned much trouble to her majesty, and which gave him cause to doubt, that his frequent visits of her majesty might give her some inconvenience. He replied, that Whitelocke's company was very agreeable to the queen, though att present she was overcharged with buisnes.

Wh. I doe acknowledge the favours I have received from her majesty, and your civilities to me, for which I shall not be ungratefull.

Mr. Would it not be of advantage to your buisnes to attend for the conclusion of it, untill the coronation of our new king, to be assented to by him; by which means the alliance will be more firme, then to have it done by the queen so neer her quitting of the government?

Wh. I shall hardly stay so long a time as till the beginning of the raigne of your new king; nor have I any letters of credence or commission butt to the queen: and I believe that all acts, done by her before her resignation, will be held good,

good, and perticularly this touching the friendship with ^{1654.} England, which I suppose will be also very agreeable to his ^{Mar. 28.} kingly highnes, and be inviolably observed by him.

Mr. I doe not doubt butt that the new king will observe the alliance which the queen shall make with England, butt perhappes it might better be made with the new king himselfe; and although you have no letters of credence to him, yett you may write into England and have them sent to you.

Wh. That will require more time then I have to stay in this place. I believe the new king will not be crowned yett these two or three moneths; and it will be two moneths from this time before I can receive new credentialls from England, and two or three moneths after that before I can returne home: by which account I shall be abroad yett eight moneths longer, which will be till the next winter; and that would be too long a time for me to be absent from my family and affayres in England.

Mr. I shall speake with the queen in this buisnes, and shortly returne to you.

It was imagined by Whitelocke, that the master of the ceremonies was purposely sent to him to sound him touching the deferring of the treaty; and the like errand *Mr.* Bloome came to him about: and Whitelocke fully declared to them his distaste of any thought therof, and the more att large and positively, bicause he knew what he said would be reported to the full to her majesty and to the chancellor.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke from ^{29.} the queen to excuse Whitelocke's not having had audiences when

1654. when he desired them; which, he said, was because her
 ~~~~~ majesty had bin so full of buisnes, which had hindred her,  
 Mar. 29. and perticularly because of the holydayes; butt, he said, if  
 Whitelocke pleased to have his audience to-morrowe, the  
 queen would be glad to see him. Whitelocke desired the  
 master to returne his thanks to her majesty for her favours,  
 and to lett her know, that he should be ready to attend  
 her att such time as she should appoint: the master said,  
 he would acquaint her majesty heerwith, and so went away  
 in the midst of dinner.

The lord Douglas, a Scottsman, came to visit White-  
 locke: he is an antient servant to this crowne, he was a page  
 to king Gustavus Adolphus, and by him preferred to mili-  
 tary commaund; wherin he quitted himselfe so well, that he  
 was promoted to be generall of the horse, and was now a  
 baron and ricks-stalle master, or master of the horse, in  
 Sweden.

He excused himselfe that he had not oftener visited  
 Whitelocke, being hindred by his sicknes of an ague, which  
 had held him thirty weeks, and had not yett left him. He  
 said, that the next day after his arrivall heer, the queen  
 asked him, if he had bin to see the english ambassador, and  
 that Whitelocke was much obliged to the queen for her  
 good opinion of him: wherof, Whitelocke said, he had re-  
 ceived many testimonies, and of her respects to the protec-  
 tor and common-wealth, as well as to their servant.

Douglas said, that, besides her respect to the protector,  
 she had a perticular respect for Whitelocke; with much dis-  
 course of that nature.

He



He then went to visite his old camerade colonell Potley, 1654.  
who was ill and kept his chamber.

Mar. 29.

He fell uppon the discourse, that it would be convenient for Whitelocke to stay heer till the coronation of the new king, that the treaty might be concluded by him: to which the same anfwears were given by Whitelocke, as he had before given to the master of the ceremonies.

Whilest the lord Douglas was in Whitelocke's house, Grave Eric came to Whitelocke, by commaund of the queen, to excuse the delay of his buisnes, and that some of his audiences had bin remitted: he said, her majesty had bin informed by the master of the ceremonies, that Whitelocke should say, he had demaunded audiences three times, and could not obtaine one. Whitelocke answered, that there was a little mistake therin, though there was something neer it, and said, it was not his desire to occasion trouble to her majesty.

Eric answered, that the queen desired Whitelocke would excuse her by reason of the holy-dayes, during which time, they did not use, in this countrey, to treat of any buisnes, and that the queen had likewise many other hinderances; butt that, whensoever it should please Whitelocke to come to her majesty, he would be very wellcome.

He said he was going out of town to his father to conduct him hither, and that within a day or two he would visit Whitelocke, and that his buisnes would have a speedy dispatch. Whitelocke wished him a good journey, and that he and his father might have a safe and speedy returne hither.

Piemen.



1654. Piementelle sent to Whitelocke to move the queen to  
 Mar. 29. graunt her pardon to a Swede who had killed another, for  
 which, by the law, he was to dye; and Piementelle offered  
 to second Whitelocke, if he would intreat the queen for her  
 pardon to the homicide.

Whitelocke desired to be excused heerin, alleadging, that  
 he being a publique minister, it was not proper for him,  
 nor for Piementelle, to interpose with her majesty in a mat-  
 ter of this nature, and perticularly touching her own sub-  
 jects, and in a matter of bloud; butt this denyall Piemen-  
 telle seemed to take ill, and to be more strange to White-  
 locke afterwards.

The holy-dayes being past, Piementelle had his audience  
 appointed this day to take his leave of the queen: White-  
 locke sent his son James, and some others of his gentle-  
 men, to be present att it, who reported to Whitelocke,  
 that Piementelle spake to the queen in spanish, and that she  
 answered him in swedish, which was interpreted by Grave  
 Tott; that Piementelle observed very much ceremony, and  
 when he made his publique harangue to the queen, he  
 grew very pale and trembled, which was strange for a man  
 of his parts, and who had bin so frequent in his conversa-  
 tion with her majesty: butt, some said, it was a high com-  
 pliment, acted by the Spanyard to the life, to please the  
 queen, who tooke delight to be thought, by her majesty and  
 presence, to putt a dread and daunting uppon foreiners;  
 which, in a trueth, she was noted often to doe, when  
 publique ministers had their audiences in solemnity with  
 her majesty.

30. One of the queen's lacquayes came to Whitelocke's house,  
 in dinner time, to desire him from the queen to come to  
 her



her att two a'clocke. Whitelocke was a little sensible of 1654.  
the quality of the messenger, and therefore himselfe would  
not speak with him, butt sent his answear by one of his ser-  
vants, and accordingly waited on the queen. Mar. 30.

He was mett att the guard-chamber by Grave Tott, and  
divers of the queen's servants, with more solemnity then  
ordinary, and presently brought to the queen.

After her excuse of his not having had audiences, she fell  
into discourse of his buisnes: Whitelocke presented to her a  
forme of articles, according to his own observations uppon  
those articles he had formerly given in, and uppon those he  
received from Grave Eric.

Theruppon the queen said to him, you will not consent  
to any one of my articles, butt insist uppon all your owne.  
Whitelocke showed her wherein he had consented to divers  
of her articles, and for what reasons he could not agree to  
the rest; they had much discourse uppon the whole, to the  
same effect as hath bin before remembred.

The queen told Whitelocke, that if those articles should  
not be concluded, that, nevertheless, the amity between  
the two nations might be continued. Whitelocke answer-  
ed, that it would be no great testimony of amity, nor  
prooffe of respect, to the protector and common-wealth, to  
send back their servant, after so long attendance, without  
effecting any thing.

The queen said, she would dispatch his buisnes within a  
few dayes, and, she hoped, to his contentment. Whitelocke  
told her, it was in her majesty's power to doe it; that he  
could not stay untill the change wherof people discoursed,



1654. and that he had her majesty's promise for his dispatch,  
 which he knew she would not breake.  
 Mar. 30.

Then the queen fell into other discourses, and; in particular, of poetry; which occasion Whitelocke tooke to shew her a copy of latin verses, made by an english gentleman, a friend of Whitelocke's, and sent over to him hither, and which he had now about him, and knew that such diversions were pleasing to the queen \*.

\* See appendixM.

Att his leisure howers, Whitelocke turned these verses into english, which ran thus:

*To the most illustrious, and most excellent lord, the lord Whitelocke, ambassador extraordinary to the most serene queen of Sweden. An Ode.*

Whitelocke, delight of Mars, the ornament  
 Of gowne men, from thy countrey being sent,  
 Tribunalls languish, Thernis sad is led,  
 Sighing under her mourning widdowes bed:  
 Without thee suitors in thick crowdes doe run,  
 Sowing perpetuall strife, which once begun,  
 Till happy fate thee home againe shall send,  
 Those sharpe contentions will have no end.  
 Butt through the snowy seas, and northern wayes,  
 When the remoter sun made shortest dayes;  
 Ore tops of craggy mountains, paths untrode,  
 Where untam'd creatures only make abode.  
 Thy love to thy deare countrey hath thee brought  
 Ambassador from England; thou hast sought  
 The swedish confines buried in frost,  
 Straight wilt thou see the french and spanish coast;

And



And them fast bind to thy lov'd Britanny,  
 In a perpetuall league of amity.  
 So wilt thou arbitrator be of peace,  
 Her pious author; thou wilt cause to cease  
 The sound of war, our ears it shall not pierce;  
 Thou wilt be chancellor of the universe.  
 Christina, that sweet nimph, no longer shall  
 Detaine thee, be thou carefull not to fall,  
 Prudent Ulisses under those delights,  
 To which the learned Circes thee invites:  
 Thy chaste Penelope doth call thee slowe,  
 Thy friends call for thee home, and they doe knowe  
 New ambassyes; affayres abroad, att home  
 Require thy service, stay till thou do'st come.  
 Thou keeper of the seale, do'st take away  
 Forein contentions; thou do'st cause to stay  
 The warres of princes: shutt thou Janus gate,  
 Ambassador of peace to every state.

1654.

Mar. 30.

The queen was much delighted with these, and other verses, which Whitelocke showed her, read them over severall times, and desired coppies of them, which Whitelocke sent her: and, in this good humor, she wished Whitelocke to leave with her a copy of his articles, as he had now revised them, and to come to her againe the next day; when she would give him a further answer, and, she hoped, to his contentment.

Woolfeldt visited Whitelocke, and excused his long absence by reason of the holy-dayes. He informed Whitelocke, with much freedome, that it was against the interest of Spayne, that England and Sweden should be in alliance together; and that Whitelocke's negotiation had bin hin-



1654. dered by the spanish resident heer, more then by any  
 ~~~~~ other: wherunto Whitelocke said little positively, butt com-  
 Mar. 30. pared his wordes with the late carriage of Piementelle, es-
 petially since Whitelocke did not so heartily intertaine the
 queen's motion (which probably Piementelle putt her
 uppon) to have the Spanyard included in the league with
 England and Sweden, which Whitelocke was not impowred
 to treat uppon; and Whitelocke also remembred the de-
 ferring of his audiences lately desired. Butt these things he
 was to keep to himselfe, and to court Woolfeldt, which he
 did, and Piementelle likewise, who came to visit White-
 locke whilest Woolfeldt was with him, and made the same
 excuse as he had done for his long absence: they had much
 generall discourse, butt nothing (as usually before) touching
 Whitelocke's buisnes. Piementelle sayd, he purposed to
 depart from Upsale within seven or eight dayes; that yester-
 day he had taken his leave of the queen, and came, in the
 next place, to take his leave of Whitelocke; who gave him
 thanks for this honor, and said, he was sorry for the de-
 parture of Piementelle, wherby he should have a very great
 losse, in being deprived of the acceptable conversation of
 so honorable a friend.

Whitelocke received many letters from England; in those
 from Thurloe, he saith: "I am sorry your last letters give
 us no greater hopes of that which we so much long for,
 to wit, your excellency's speedy returne home; it seeming
 by them, that the treaty was not much advanced since
 your last before, notwithstanding the great care and dili-
 gence used by your excellency for the promoting therof,
 as also the great acceptance you have with the queen and
 court, as is acknowledged by other publique ministers re-
 siding there. It is now more then probable, they will ex-
 pect the issue of the dutch buisnes before they will come to
 any

any conclusion ; as also to see what termes we are like to be uppon with France, that so the queen may manage her treaty with England accordingly, which, I suppose, she may not be long ignorant of: in the mean time, his highnes thinkes, he is somewhat delayed on her part.”

1654.
Mar. 30.

Then Thurloe relates all the passages of the dutch ambassadors, and that, in effect, they had agreed to the articles; of the indeavors of the french to have a league with the protector, and no lesse of the spanyard. And he writes, att large, the newes of the arch-duke, as also that of Scotland and Ireland, and confutes the rumor of a discontent in the army of the protector.

In another letter from Thurloe, of a later date, received by the same post, he saith thus:

“ His highnes understands, by your excellence’s last letters, that the treaty with the queen of Sweden will much depend uppon the treaty with the dutch heer, and, untill the issue of that be knowne, no great matter is to be expected from your negotiation ; concerning which, it being very probable that, before the next ordinary, it will be seen what issue the dutch treaty will be brought unto, his highnes will referre his further directions to you till then ; leaving it to your excellency to proceed uppon the former instructions, as you shall find it convenient, and for his service, according as affayres now stand.”

The clause in this letter, of referring further directions till after the issue of the dutch treaty, was some trouble to Whitelocke’s thoughts, fearing it might delay his returne home ; butt he layd hold uppon the latter part of this letter, wherby it is left to Whitelocke to proceed uppon the former

1654. former instructions, as he should find it convenient, and for
 his highness's service; which, as it reposed a great trust in
 Mar. 30. Whitelocke, so it gave him warrant to conclude his treaty,
 and obliged him to the more care to performe that trust
 which they had so fully putt in him.

Mnr. Bonnele representing to the protector the losses
 which the Swedes suffered by the ships of England, the pro-
 tector caused an answer therunto to be returned, the
 copy wherof was sent by Thurloe to Whitelocke, and was
 thus:

“ Wheras Mnr. Bonnele, resident of the queen of Swe-
 den, hath, by a paper of the fourth of March, remonstrat-
 ed to his highnes, that severall ships and goods, belonging
 to the said queen and her subjects, are taken att sea by the
 ships of this state, and brought into these parts, contrary
 to the declaration of the councill of state, 1st April, 1653;
 wherby they did declare, that, for preventing the present
 obstruction of trade, all ships truly belonging to the queen,
 or her subjects, of Sweden, that should bring with them
 certificates from her said majesty, or the chiefe magistrate
 of the place from whence they come, grounded uppon the
 respective oaths of the magistrates and loaders, that the said
 ship and lading doe belong, bonâ fide, to the said queen,
 or her subjects, and to no stranger whatsoever, should
 and might freely passe without interruption or disturbance.
 His highnes hath commaunded, that it be returned in
 answer to the said resident, that although the said decla-
 ration was to be in force for the space of three months, in
 which time a forme of passe-port and certificates was to be
 thought of for preventing fraud and collusion, yett no pro-
 vision of that nature having bin yett agreed uppon, and it
 being

being contrary to his intention, that the goods and ships, 1654.
 belonging to her said majesty, or subjects (with whom he ^{Mar. 30.}
 desires to conserve all good correspondence), should, in the
 meane time, suffer inconvenience or prejudice by the ships
 of this state, hath renewed, as he doth heerby renew, the
 said declaration, with respect to the present treaty now on
 foot between the two nations, wherein some course may be
 provided for preventing the said fraudes.

“ And to the end there may be the better effect of this
 declaration, his highnes hath given order to the judges of
 the admiralty, that if any ships or goods be brought into
 these parts, belonging to her majesty, or subjects, that the
 producing of certificates, according to the said declaration,
 in open court, and uppon oath made by them, that doe
 produce such certificates, that they are good and authen-
 tique, and obtained without fraud or deceit, that the
 judges shall theruppon (there being no prooffe before them
 to the contrary) discharge the said ships or goods without
 further delay. Provided, that such ships were not bound
 with contrabanda goods to the ports or harbours of any of
 the united provinces.

“ For the herring buffe, there having bin proceedings
 theruppon in the court of admiralty, and a sentence of con-
 demnation given against her, as belonging to the ennemies
 of this state, his highnes doth not conceive, that it can
 be expected from him to interpose in matters belonging
 to the decision of that court; besides, the law having,
 in the ordinary course, provided a remedy, by way
 of appeale, in case of wrong or injustice done by that
 court.

“ For

1654. "For the goods of Mr. Alexander Cecconi, supposed to
 be taken by a ship belonging to this state, orders have bin
 given by the councill concerning them, and some returne
 made uppon those orders; and the said commissary may
 rest assured, that speedy and effectuall justice will be done
 in that perticular.

Mar. 30.

JO. THURLOE."

March 10th,
 1653.

These orders of the councill Whitelocke caused to be
 translated into latin, that he might communicate them as he
 saw occasion.

31. Whitelocke dispatched a great number of letters to his
 friends in England: in those to secretary Thurloe, he gave
 a full account of all transactions of his negotiations, and
 passages heer, since his last letters.

This day (though the post day) Woolfeldt againe visited
 Whitelocke, to his no little interruption in his dispatches;
 yett from him Whitelocke learned many things in relation
 to Denmarke, for the advantage of England; and Wool-
 feldt testified great affection and respect to the protector
 and common-wealth.

He was also interrupted by his attendance uppon the
 queen, according to her appointment: the chancellor came
 forth from her, as Whitelocke went in, and he told White-
 locke, that the queen, hearing of his being without, had
 sent to desire him to come in to her. Whitelocke read
 some of his newes to the queen, and the paper which the
 protector had caused to be given to her commissary Bonnele
 att London; uppon which Whitelocke tooke the boldnes

a little

a little to paraphrase, and her majesty was well pleased with it. 1654.

Mar. 31.

They fell into discourse of the treaty, much to the same effect as formerly; butt Whitelocke stayed the lesse time with her majesty, bicause he presumed, that the chancellor and his son waited without to speake with her about his buisnes. She promised Whitelocke to send him an answer of his buisnes the next day, and that one of her ships should be ready att the Dollars (the mouth of the haven of Stockholme) to transport him to Lubec when he should desire it; which was acceptable to Whitelocke to thinke on, and he thanked her majesty for it.

Thus was March past over, full of trouble, yett nothing effected in his buisnes.

VOL. II.

C

APRILL.

A P R I L L.

1654. **I**N the morning, in the market place, neere Whitelocke's
 lodging, was an execution of one adjudged to dye for
 a murther. The offender was brought into the midst
 of the market place, which was open and spacious, and a
 great multitude of people spectators. The offender kneeled
 downe uppon the ground, a great deale of sand being layd
 under and about him to soake up his bloud, and a linnen cloth
 was bound about his eyes : he seemed not much terrifyed,
 butt, when the company sang a psalme, he sang with them,
 holding up his hands together, and his body upright, his
 doublet off. He prayed also with the company, butt made
 no speech to them ; nor did any other speake to the people.
 The executioner stood behind him, with a great naked
 sword in his hand, and a linnen apron before him, and,
 while the offender was praying, the headsmen in an instant,
 att one backe-blow, cutt off his head, which fell downe
 uppon the sand ; and some friends took it from the execu-
 tioner, and carryed it away with the body to be buryed.

Presently after this execution was past, two other offen-
 ders, for smaller crimes, were brought to the same place to
 suffer the punishment of the law, which they call run-
 ning the gauntlet ; a usuall punishment among soldiers.

The people stood in length in the market place about
 100 yards, leaving an open space, or lane, between them of
 about five yards distance : then the offender, being naked
 to the waste, was brought to one end of the lane or open
 place.

place. The people had roddes, or switches, of birch given 1654.
to as many as would take them; the offender was to runne ^{April 1.}
or goe, as he pleased (and one of them walked butt a spanish
pace), from one end of the lane of people to the other,
twice or thrice forward and backward: and all the way, as
he went, the people who had the switches lashed the offen-
der as he passed by them, harder or softer, as they favoured
him.

These are the most usuall wayes of executions which
they have for criminall offences, and they doe not execute
men by hanging, which, they say, is only fitt for dogges;
butt, in cases of great robberyes and murders, sometimes
they execute justice by breaking the offenders uppon the
whee, and leave the quarters of the body uppon it; some
wherof were in the way as Whitelocke passed in his journey
by the great wilderness.

In the afternoon, senator Scute came to Whitelocke,
and invited him to take the aier to see the town of old
Upsale, about a mile off; and, being there, Scute showed
him three great mounts of earth, cast up by the hands of
men, for monuments, in memory of their antient famous
kings, whose seat had bin heer, and the place of their co-
ronation.

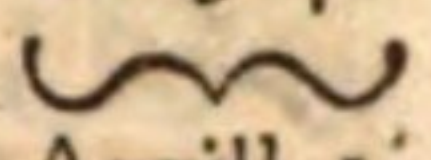
These mounts had bin dedicated to three of their pagan
gods; the one to the god whom they call Teuo, who was
Mars, and from him they have the name of the day of the
weeke Teuosdagh, which we call Tuesday, and the Ger-
mans Tuiyconsaeg, and the Latins Dies Martis: the second
mount was dedicated to their God Woden, so they called
Mercury, and from thence their day of the week is named

1654. Wodensdag, which we also call Wednesday, the Germans
 Wodensdæg, and the Latins Dies Mercurii; the third mount
 Aprill 1. was dedicated to their goddesse Freid, so they called Venus,
 and from thence comes the name of their Friedsdag, which
 we call Friday, the Germans Frijdæg, and the Latins Dies
 Veneris.

There were also other reliques of decayed mounts, which
 Whitelocke guessed to have bin dedicated to their other
 Gods, from whom they gave the names of the other dayes of
 the week; as to Thor, whom they called Jupiter, and from
 whence the day Thoresdag, which we call Thursday, the
 Germans say Thorsdæg, and the Latins Dies Jovis; another
 mount dedicated to their god Setorn, from whence they
 call Setornsdag, as we say Saturday, the Germans
 Sæternsdæg, and the Latins Dies Saturni; another mount de-
 dicated to Sunnan, as they call the Sun, and from thence
 that day Sunnandag, as we say Sunday, the Germans
 Sunnandæg, and the Latins Dies Solis; the last mount dedi-
 cated to Monan, that is the Moon, and from thence the
 name of their Monandag, which we call Monday, the
 Germans Monandæg, and the Latins Dies Lunæ.

In discourse uppon the way, Scute informed Whitelocke
 of the matter of the ambassy from the great duke of Musco-
 via to the queen of Sweden, which was to acquaint her
 majesty, that the Great Duke had begun a warre against
 the king of Poland; bicause, in a letter of his to the Great
 Duke, he had omitted one of his great titles, a heynous
 offence, and held by the Great Duke a sufficient ground of
 war, and of his resolution to sacrifice the bloud of his fellow
 christians, to satisfy his wicked pride.

Another

Another ground of the war was, bicause a certain go- 1654.
 vernor of a province in Poland, in a writing, had placed 
 the name of the father of the Great Duke, before the name
 of the present Great Duke; which was so great an indig-
 nity, that, for the same, the now Great Duke demaunded of
 the king of Poland to have the head of that governor sent
 to him, and that not being done, was another cause of the
 begunne war.

To this the queen answered, that it did not appertain
 to her to give her opinion in a matter of this nature, whi-
 ther she did approve or disapprove of what was done by
 the Great Duke; butt she did presume, that the king of
 Poland would therein give fitting satisfaction to the Great
 Duke; and that she did wish, that there might be peace
 between these two princes, and all the princes of Christen-
 dome. And with this answear the envoyees of the Great
 Duke returned as wise as they came.

Scute also communicated unto Whitelocke an intelligence,
 that the king of Denmarke had levyed some forces which
 he designed against Hambourgh; pretending injuries done
 to him by that citty, in relation to his pretentions of domi-
 nion there, which probably might occasion a war between
 Denmarke and that free citty, which had strength and
 riches, and people and wisdom, to defend themselves;
 and Scute advised Whitelocke, that if this should be so,
 that then he should take his voyage some other way, and
 that it would be a great disturbance and daunger to him
 to goe by Hambourgh, and those quarters, which would be
 infested with foldiers, and that then it would be his best
 way to returne by Gothenbergh; butt he did perswade
 Whitelocke, by all means, to salute the prince of Sweden
 by the way of his returne.

White-

1654. Whitelocke said, he thought it not probable that the king
 of Denmarke would, att this time, ingage in a warre against
 April 1. Hambourgh, and that his levying of foldiers might breed a
 jealousy in the crown of Sweden; that the certainty therof
 could not be long undiscovered, and accordingly he should
 governe his own resolutions; that it would be difficult for
 him to stay in his journey to salute the prince, butt he
 much desired, and intended it before his departure.

2. Although the *Lord's day*, yett the English and Scotts who
 were in the town, and not of Whitelocke's family, went
 abroad to take the aier, and did not resort, as they used
 to doe, to Whitelocke's house to the exercises of divine
 worship, which were duely performed in his private fami-
 ly; and after those sacra peracta, Whitelocke retired him-
 selfe to his private studyes and meditations uppon the word
 of trueth.

This day likewise the queen went abroad to take the
 aier, and passed through the town in her coach, attended
 by many gentlemen, and others, in her trayne, to the ill
 example of her people, and after the bad custome of this
 place.

3. The queen sent to Whitelocke to invite him to accom-
 pany her to take the aier.

By the way Whitelocke visited Woolfeldt, who had much
 discourse with him about the english fleet then att sea.

From him Whitelocke went to court, and attended the
 queen in her coach to take the aier. They had not much
 discourse about his buisnes, and he thought not fitt to inter-
 rupt

rupt her majesty's pleasures with serious discourses, butt 1654.
 fought to delight her with matters of diversion and mirth. ~~~~~
 Aprill 3.

When they were come back to the castle, the queen said to Whitelocke :

Qu. To-morrow my chancellor will present you with the articles drawne up by him, with some alterations which I judge to be reasonable ; and that shall be my finall resolution about them.

Wh. Hath your majesty commaunded any mention in those new articles concerning contrabanda goods ?

Qu. There is a specification of them.

Wh. Indeed, madame, I can hardly consent to any alteration uppon the subject of contrabanda goods, whilst the edict of the Hollanders is in force theruppon.

Qu. After you have considered these new articles, we will speake together agayne about them.

Then the queen retired to her chamber, and Whitelocke being come home, the secretary Canterstein came to him from the chancellor to excuse his not comming to visit Whitelocke, and said, that, by the queen's commaund, the chancellor had sent a new copy of articles to Whitelocke. He presently read them, and had much discourse with the secretary uppon them, who said, he did not doubt, butt that, after communication with the chancellor, Whitelocke would receive satisfaction.

White--

1654. Whitelocke visited Piementelle, and they had this discourse:
 ~~~~~  
 April 4.

*Piem.* The ambassador of Denmarke did me the honor to visit me, and we had much discourse together about the english fleet now att sea; he told me, that in it were 10,000 foot soldiers, imbarqued for the north, which would occasion great trouble to the king, his master, if it should be so, which I acknowledged.

*Wh.* Your excellence knowes, that I have not bin att the councill of state in England for fixe moneths last past, so that I know not the secret designs of my lord protector; butt I believe it is no very difficult matter to land men in Denmarke.

*Piem.* What progresse hath the french ambassador made in the treaty between you and France?

*Wh.* If the queen will be pleased to give me my dispatch, I hope to be upon the place before the treaty with the French be concluded: I have somewhat to communicate to the protector touching a treaty with Spayne, which your lordship very well knowes; and it would be to purpose that his highness should know it, before the conclusion of a treaty between England and France.

*Piem.* I am assured that the queen will dispatch you in good time; butt I advise your excellence, in your returne, not to passe by Denmarke, for it is ill trusting of that king: butt your better way will be to Lubec, and from thence to Hambourgh, and if you doe not find ships ready there, you may travayle by land to Collen, and from thence to Duynkerke; which will be much better then to goe by Holland, where



where they doe exceedingly exact uppon strangers; and 1654.  
 your common-wealth hath more ennemies there then in any <sup>Aprill 4.</sup>  
 other place, besides the common people are rude and in-  
 solent.

*Wh.* I am ingaged to you for your good advice, which I  
 intend to follow.

After their discourse, Whitelocke presented Piementelle  
 his medall in gold very like him, and it was received by Pie-  
 mentelle with much affection. Then Piementelle intreated  
 Whitelocke to give him a passeport for his servant, who had  
 the charge of conducting his baggage by sea to Duynkerke,  
 that he might freely passe the men of warre of England;  
 the which was willingly done by Whitelocke, under his  
 hand and seale.

The french \* and english coppies of the passeport were \* See ap-  
 these. pendix N.

“ Wheras Don Antonio Pementel de Prado, envoy ex-  
 “ traordinary from his majesty the king of Spayne unto  
 “ her majesty the queen of Sweden, is now uppon his re-  
 “ turne from this place unto Newport in Flanders, wherof  
 “ his excellence is governor, and hath thought fitt to send  
 “ part of his trayne and goods from Hambourgh by sea  
 “ unto Duinkerck, or some other port, now in obedience to  
 “ his said majesty the king of Spayne, in the low coun-  
 “ tryes; and, for the better conveyance of them, hath de-  
 “ fired a passe from me, being ambassador extraordinary  
 “ from his highness my lord protector of the common-  
 “ wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto her said  
 “ majesty the queen of Sweden: these are therefore to de-  
 “ fire all commanders by sea or land, and all officers, or  
 VOL. II. D “ others



1654. " others, of the said common-wealth, whom it may con-  
 ~~~~~  
 April 4. " cerne, to permit the bearer heerof, Joos Froidure, ser-
 " vant unto the said Don Antonio Pementel, with the ship
 " and goods under his charge, viz. twenty chests, or
 " packes, containing all sorts of household stufte, as vessels
 " of silver, tapistries, linnen, apparell, field-beds, and
 " other coffers and such like things, marked with D. A. P.
 " to passe unto the said port of Duinkerck, or any other
 " port now in obedience unto his said majesty the king of
 " Spayn in the low countryes, quietly, and without any
 " molestation. Given under my hand and seale, att Ubsale
 " in Sweden, this 4th day of April, 1654.

" B. WHITELOCKE."

5. In the morning Whitelocke went to the chancellor's lodg-
 ing, and found his son Grave Eric with him: the chancel-
 lor made a long apology to excuse the delay of the treaty,
 and said;

Chan. My indisposition of health hath chiefly occasioned
 the delay, yett was I so sollicitous of your buisnes, that I
 intreated the queen to appoint some other person in my
 stead, who might conferre with your excellence; and her
 majesty was pleased to appoint my son for that service.

Wh. I was very sorry for your excellence's want of
 health, both in regard of my affection to your person, and
 in respect of the protraction of my buisnes; yett I was glad
 that your son, my lord Eric, was appointed to conferre
 with me, and had rather have the transaction of my buis-
 nes by yourselfe, or some of your family, then by any
 other. I am now come to you to conferre uppon those
 articles which yesterday I received from you.

Then Whitelocke gave the chancellor a paper of his animadversions upon his articles. The debate began upon the ninth article; and as to the sale of goods taken from enemies, and prohibiting the buying of armes, the chancellor said, this would abolish their trade, and would be of no advantage to England; because those armes, and equally as good, might be had from other places; and if the English did light upon them, they would have the benefit by it. 1654.
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Whitelocke said, it would be a great inconvenience to furnish the enemies of either nation with armes, which could not be had elsewhere then in England or Sweden, and that this clause would putt a bridle in the mouths of the enemies of either nation.

The chancellor and his son replied, that armes might be had in the province of Liege, and in many other places in Germany; that Sweden scarce afforded any other commodities butt armes, or such things as were serviceable for war; and that the queen would, by no means, be induced to that clause, as Whitelocke would have it.

Then they debated upon the eleventh article; the issue wherof was, for Whitelocke to consent to a speciall designation of prohibited goods.

Whitelocke desired, that the catalogue and designation of them might be referred to his returne into England, and he would agree, that, within two moneths after that, there should be a specification of prohibited goods in the name of the protector.

1654. The chancellor urged, that the specification might be
 Aprill 5. now agreed uppon, and produced a paper specifying them,
 which (they alleadged) was delivered by the councill in
 England unto Bonnele. Whitelocke said, he did not re-
 member the same, and that he was ignorant what goods
 were prohibited by the dutch placart, which was fitt to be
 known before any specification made by him.

Uppon the twelfth article Whitelocke urged, that, as to
 the forme of the letters of safe conduct, it might also be
 referred to his returne into England: they produced a
 forme exhibited by Lagerfeldt to the councill in England,
 and desired, that the same forme might be now agreed
 uppon.

Whitelocke answered, that the councill of state had not
 approved the forme given in by Lagerfeldt, and, therefore,
 it was not fitt for him to consent to it; nor could he ap-
 prehend any reason why they should not consent to referre
 the agreement of a forme unto his returne to England; and
 the rather, bicause, in the meane time, the subjects of the
 queen might enjoy the benefit of an edict made by the
 protector in great favour of them, which declaration White-
 locke had caused to be delivered to the chancellor.

To the thirteenth article, as to satisfaction of damages,
 their debate was to the like effect as formerly.

Uppon the sixteenth article they had also debate. White-
 locke desired, that the words (de usu littorum in piscatione)
 might be altered to these words, de piscatione et usu litto-
 rum: they alleadged, that this would seem to deny their
 fishing uppon their own coasts; Whitelocke said, the other
 would seem, as if England had given up their right as to
 the

the fishing, and left all att liberty to those that pleased to take it.

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This was the sum of the debate of neer three howers. The conclusion was, that they would certefy the queen of all these matters, and in a short time acquaint Whitelocke with her answear; which he desired might be as speedy and positive as they pleased, bicause, if they should reduce him to that necessity, that, before he could agree, he must send to the protector to know his pleasure, he could not receive an answear of his letters in lesse then two moneths space, within which time the queen purposed to resigne her government, and then his commission would be att an end.

The chancellor said, he desired Whitelocke should be speedily in England, not only for the sake of his wife and children, butt likewise bicause then they could promise themselves, that they had a good friend in England.

Whitelocke visited the french resident, who was very inquisitive what might be the designe of the english fleet now att sea; wherunto, as to much other of his discourse, Whitelocke did not much study for answers, only he was carefull not to lett fall any words, which might lessen their amusement about the fleet.

In the evening Woolfeldt visited Whitelocke, and discoursed of the same matter; wherof Whitelocke made some use, and of this gentleman, to heighten their jealousyes about this fleet.

Woolfeldt acquainted Whitelocke, that the ambassador of Denmarke had made a complaint against him to the queen,
that

1654. that Woolfeldt had deceived the late king of Denmarke of
 {
 April 5. certain fums of money, which he should have disbursed
 for the late king of England against the parlement; and that
 the present king of Denmarke having bin informed, that
 Woolfeldt had lost his papers att sea, and so could not pro-
 duce his acquittances, the king tooke the advantage therof
 against Woolfeldt, and now, by his ambassador, charged
 him before the queen for those moneys: butt that he dis-
 appointed the danish ambassador by producing, before the
 queen, his papers and acquittances, which his enemies be-
 lieved had bin lost; and so was justified before the queen,
 to the great discontent of the ambassador.

Whitelocke said, he was very glad that Woolfeldt came
 so well off, and that he perceived the queen had, by the
 treaty, a capacity, as well as by his residence, to examine
 and doe right in such matters.

This day Whitelocke had discourse, about Norway and
 the Sundt, with a danish gentleman of great quality and
 experience whom he had obliged, who desired to have his
 name concealed; butt part of this discourse followes:

Da. Now is a good time for the protector to send some
 ships towards these parts.

Wh. What places are there in Norway, considerable as
 to the interest of England?

Da. There are two places in Norway, not farre from
 Gothenbergh, which are easy to be taken, and are excel-
 lent harbours, wherein England might keep some ships con-
 stantly, and commaund all that passe by to the Baltick sea.

Wh.

Wh. What are the names of those places?

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Da. The one of those havens is called Marstrang, butt that I doe not like so well, bicause of the Pater Noster rockes, which are very dangerous for comming out, if the wind sitt northerly; and the fort there is commaunded by the hilles neer it.

Butt the other place, called Flecker Town, is an island, and hath a going in and comming out two wayes: it is an excellent harbour, and ships may ride in it att such a distance from the land (being a broade water), that none from the land can hurt them.

There is a little fort in this island which may easily be taken, not having above forty or fifty men in it, and the workes decayed: those who assaile it must land their men on the south east side of the island, the fort being on the other side, and they may easily be masters of it; and from thence having some ships, they may goe in and out att their pleasure, and commaund all passing by; and none can come into the harbour to them, if they make up the fort, which is soon done, and the passage not above muskett shott to be commaunded; and there are no gunnes there of any consideration att this time.

Wh. How shall they doe for victualls there to gett fresh from the land?

Da. There is plenty of butter and cheese, sheep and hogges; and the poor countrey people will be no trouble to you, butt be willing to be commaunded by you.

Wh. What townes are there neer it?

Da.

1654. *Da.* Higher in the countrey is Bergen, the chiefe town
 Aprill 5. for trade there, and rich enough: your ships may easily
 come into that harbour and plunder the town, and gett a
 great booty, and returne to Fleckeren town agayne.

Wh. Is there any thing to be done att Island?

Da. I wonder you doe not send in August or September
 four or five ships to Island, being men of war; they may
 have twenty or thirty dutch ships, laden with fish, butter,
 and hides, which will make no resistance att all; and it
 would be a rich prize, and might be had without daunger
 or difficulty.

Wh. Is the castle of Elfinore so strong a piece, that it
 cannot be taken without much expence and daunger?

Da. This will not be the best design for England: it is a
 smalle strong castle, and doth not signify much; though it
 be esteemed a piece of importance, it is not so.

Wh. It commaunds the passage of the Sundt.

Da. Most men believe so, butt it is mistaken. I have seen
 an experiment to the contrary, that a boate being placed
 in the middle of that narrow passage of the Sundt, they shott
 att it from the castle of Elfinore, and likewise from the
 castle of Elsingburgh on the other side, with the greatest
 gunnes they had, and yett they could not reach the boate
 from either side by 2000 paces; nor is it so narrow in the
 passage, butt that a ship may, when she pleaseth, sayle by
 those castles in despight of them.

Wh. What harbour is there att Elfinore?

Da.

Da. There is no harbour for ships to ride in, and in 1654. fowle weather they will be in daunger to be all lost, bicause they must ride in the open sea, which there is extreame ^{Aprill. 5.} perilous; and therefore Elfinore is not worth the keeping if England had it. Butt their best designe would be to goe directly to the town of Copen Hagen with fifty or fixty good ships, with land men in them; and it is easy enough to take that town, for the workes of it are not strong, nor is it well guarded: and it would be easier to take that town then Elfinore, and if England were masters of it, the castle would quickly come in to them; and att the town they should have a good haven for their ships, and a smalle matter would build a better fort neer the town then Elfinore is, and would commaund the passage more then the castles doe, and make you masters of the Sundt, and of all the trade of the Baltick sea.

Wh. What revenue would be gained therby?

Da. More then will maintaine your ships and forces there, and will commaund all the isle of Zeland.

Wh. I should be glad to meet you there.

Da. If you summon me by your letters, I will give you a meeting att Copen Hagen, or those whom the protector shall send thither; and if you will meet me there, I doubt not butt to shew you a way to gett that town without much difficulty; and then you will have all the isle of Zeland, which is the best part of Denmarke, and the rest will follow, being weary of the present tyranny and ill usage of their king. And if you were masters of Zeland, you might thereby keep in awe the Swede, the Hollander, and all the world, that have occasion for the commodities of the Baltick sea.

1654. *Wh.* Why then doth not the king of Denmarke now keep
 them in such awe?
 Aprill 5.

Da. Bicause he hath neither the money, nor ships, nor men, that England hath.

Wh. What is the ground and reason of payment of the tolles att Elfinore, if ships may passe by without the leave of the castles there?

Da. Bicause that is known butt to a very few; and what I have told you is under secrefey, and I desire that none butt the protector may know it from you: and as for the grounds of paying the tolles att Elfinore, it is rather from the keeping of the lights in Juitland, and uppon that coast, then from any commaund that Elfinore hath of the ships that goe that way.

Wh. I have heard those lights are very usefull.

Da. Unlesse they were kept, it would be impossible for ships to sayle there in the long nights in winter; and the trade doth inforce them to come that way in October and November, when the nights are very long, bicause of bringing wine into those parts after the vintage, which is in September.

Wh. They are likewise to carry home corne, which is not inned till August and September. Did not the Hollander refuse to pay the tolle?

Da. Once they did, and theruppon the last king of Denmarke, by advice, commaunded that the lights uppon the coast should not be kept; and the Hollanders in that Au-

tumne lost above thirty ships upon the danish coast, and 1654.
came and intreated the king that the lights might be ^{Aprill 5.}
kept againe, and promised to pay the tolles as formerly, and
have done so ever since.

Wh. Lett me say to you in freedome; how can you, being a native of Denmarke, fatisfy yourselfe to discover these things to me, wherby prejudice may come to your countrey?

Da. I doe not thinke I betray my countrey in this, though, my countrey having left me to be an exile, I might justly leave them; and wheresoever I breath and am maintained, is more my countrey then that where I was borne, and which will not lett me breath there: yett in this I thinke I may doe good service to Denmarke, to free them from the tyranny they are under, and to bring them into the free government of the protector, to whom I shall doe any service in my power. Butt for the king of Denmarke, he is governed by his queen and a few of her party, men of no honor, nor wisdom, nor experience in publique affayres, butt proud and haughty, according to the way of these parts of the world.

Wh. I shall not fayle to make known to the protector your great affections to him.

Monfieur Miller, who had bin resident att Hambourgh 6.
for her majesty, came to visit Whitelocke; and after dinner discoursed much of the English fleet now att sea, which he said did amuse all the northern parts of the world, what the designe therof might be: Whitelocke did not lessen the wonder, especially in relation to Denmarke; yett affirmed nothing positively, as indeed he could not. He inquired of Monfieur Miller, if the king of Denmarke were making any

1654. preparations att sea, or of land forces, or had any designe
 towards Hambourgh? Miller said, he knew of none; and
 Aprill 6. in his discourse gave Whitelocke good information of the
 government, strength, and trade of that Hanse towne.

The secretary Canterstein came to Whitelocke from the
 chancellor, and brought to him the articles, uppon which
 they had last treated, now altered according to Whitelocke's
 desire, except that which concerned the forbidding of our
 ennemies to buy armes in the cuntryes of our confederates.
 He also delivered to Whitelocke the draught of a præamble
 for the articles, and another article for the ratifying of all
 the rest; wherunto Whitelocke consented, and thanked God
 that his buisnes was brought so neer to a good conclusion.

Whitelocke received his paquet from England, and
 Thurloe wrote, that the protector was sensible of the queen's
 delaying of Whitelocke, butt approved his proceedings; he
 sent this inclosed order:

Friday, 17 Martii, 1653.

“ Att the councill att Whitehall.

“ On consideration of a letter, this day read in councill,
 “ sent from the lord ambassador extraordinary with her
 “ majesty of Sweden, mentioning, among other things, the
 “ taking of the ship Charity, Paul Paulsen master, by a
 “ private man of war, and the carrying of her into Dover,
 “ and the hard usage of the master and mariners, which
 “ ship is claymed by some cittizens of Gottenburgh, sub-
 “ jects of the said queen:

“ Ordered,

“ Ordered, That it be referred to the commissioners of 1654.
 “ the admiralty speedily to putt this matter in a way of ^{April 6.}
 “ examination; and, for their information in the premisses,
 “ to send for the commaunder of the said man of war, and
 “ to receive a perticular account and satisfaction concerning
 “ the disposall of the ship and goods, and the usage of the
 “ master and mariners; and theruppon to state the whole
 “ case, and report it to the councell, to the intent speedy
 “ justice may be done therein: and the said commissioners
 “ are likewise to take order, that all further proceedings
 “ touching the said ship, or her lading, or disposall of any
 “ part therof, be stayed and forborne till their report made,
 “ and further order theruppon shall be given by the
 “ councell.

“ W. JESSOP, Clerk of the councell.”

Thurloe wrote, that in case the information given to Whitelocke were found to be true, that the parties offending would be severely punished, and right done to those who were injured; and that the councell were very sensible heerof, as a hinderance to Whitelocke's proceedings, and a dishonor to the protector.

He also wrote unto Whitelocke, that there was little scruple now of an agreement uppon the dutch treaty, which was as good as concluded; and he sent the newes of France and of Scotland and Ireland, as well as that of England, as he constantly used to doe.

Whitelocke caused this order to be translated into latin, and made use of it for the advantage of his buisnes.

A description was given to Whitelocke, in writing, of the manner of making gunpowder in these parts, and of their
 milles

1654. milles and vessells for it, not unlike in many things to their way in England.
 ~~~~~  
 Aprill 6.

7. Whitelocke waited on the queen, and she was pleased to discourse with him to this effect :

*Qu.* I am resolved to retire into Pomerland, and this summer to goe to the Spaë to drinke the waters for my health.

*Wh.* Give me leave, madame, to put you in mind of two things to be specially taken care of ; one is the security of your own person, the other is the settling of your revenue : your majesty, being of a royall and bountifull spirit, cannot looke into such matters, so much beneath you, as expences or accounts ; and if care be not taken therein, and good officers, your majesty may be disappointed and deceived.

*Qu.* I thanke you for this counsell ; I intend to have Monsieur Flemming with me, to take charge of my revenue ; he is a discreet wise man, and fitt for that imployment, and to order the expences of my house : I believe he will neither deceive me himselfe, nor permit others to doe it, for he is faithfull to me.

*Wh.* Such a servant is a jewell : I hope care is taken, that your majesty's revenue be secured in such a manner, that you shall not depend uppon the pleasure of any other for the receipt of it, butt to be in your own power as mistress of it, not as a pensioner.

*Qu.* It shall be settled, according to the advice you gave me ; and I thank you for it.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* Madame, I account it a happines, if in any thing I may be serviceable to your majesty. Whom doth your majesty take with you besides Monsieur Flemming of that quality? 1654.  
Aprill 7.

*Qu.* I desire the company of Monsieur Woolfeldt and his lady, if they will goe with me.

*Wh.* I suppose they will be very serviceable to your majesty; and I hope it will not be long, after the buisnes heer effected, before you transport yourselfe into Pomerland, lest any designs should be against your liberty; for, madame, in this age, there be few persons to be trusted.

*Qu.* That's too great a trueth, and I thanke you for the caution. I could freely trust yourselfe with any of my concernements; and if you will come to me into Pomerland, you shall be as wellcome as any man living, and we will be merry together.

*Wh.* I humbly thanke your majesty for your great favour to your servant, who hath a wife and children enough to people a province in Pomerland, and I shall bring them all thither to doe your majesty service.

*Qu.* If you will bring your lady and all your children and family thither, and settle yourselfe there, you shall want nothing in my power, and shall be very wellcome to me.

*Wh.* I am your majesty's most humble servant; and I pray, madame, give me leave to aske your majesty, whither you judge it requisite for me to waite on the prince of Sweden, before my going out of this countrey?

*Qu.*



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*Qu.* I thinke it very fitt and necessary for you to see the prince, before you leave this country ; it will be taken as a respect from the protector to him ; and, if you doe not, it would be looked uppon as a neglect of him.

*Wh.* I am obliged to doe all that lyes in my power to inlarge the protector's interest.

*Qu.* The prince being to succeede in the crown, and in so short a time, it will be fitt to keep a fayre correspondence with him, and to shew respect to him, wherof your visit will be a good testimony.

*Wh.* Madame, your opinion will be a great direction to me in my affayres.

*Qu.* I thinke it will be an advantage to your buisnes for you to speake with the prince himselfe, who will take it in good parte, and hold himselfe the more obliged to the observance of what shall be agreed uppon in your present treaty, being acquainted therewith by you that made it.

*Wh.* I hope the treaty, which your majesty shall make, will be observed by any who shall succeed you ; butt I acknowledge it is very advisable for me, to have some discourse with his royall highnes, to give him an account of the treaty ; and I shall inquire where I may attend him.

*Qu.* You must goe from hence to Stockholme, and so to Norcupen ; and the castle where the prince now resides is within a league of that towne : you may have my coaches and horses to transport you, and my servants to guide you thither.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* I humbly desire your majesty to make choice of any 1654.  
of my coach horses or saddle horses, that may be usefull for <sup>April 7.</sup>  
you, and to commaund them; they are all att your majesty's  
service.

*Qu.* I shall not make choice of any; butt if you bestow  
any of them uppon me, they will be very acceptable.

*Wh.* I humbly acknowledge your majesty's great favour  
in affording a dispatch to my buisnes.

*Qu.* I wish you with the protector, bicause I see you are  
a faithfull servant to him, and worthy to serve any prince  
in Christendome.

*Wh.* Your majesty ever had a favour for me, and in no-  
thing more then in my dispatch.

*Qu.* I thinke it not fitt for you to be in Sweden too neer  
the time of the coronation of the new king; and then to  
goe away and not to see him, would be worse.

*Wh.* I doe intend uppon your majesty's advice to salute  
him before my going away, and shall desire that the ships  
may meet me neer the place where his royall highnes is.

*Qu.* I will give order for it, and will be gone myselfe not  
long after; if I had stayer heer, I should have bin glad of  
your longer stay.

Whitelocke tooke his leave of the queen, and, being re-  
turned home, feldt marshall Wrangell visited him; and  
after dinner, being in a good humor, discoursed freely,  
and much of the english fleet att sea. Whitelocke showed



1654. him a draught of the ship Sovereigne, with her dimensions,  
 gunnes, and men, wherwithe he was much pleased. He  
 Aprill 7. told Whitelocke, that, by commaund of the queen, he had  
 prepared ships for Whitelocke's transportation from Stock-  
 holme to Lubec.

Whitelocke made his dispatches for England, and, in his  
 letters to Thurloe, gave this account of the treaty.

“ 1. Their first article differs not in substance from the first  
 which I proposed, and therefore I did not object against it ;  
 butt as to all of them, I reserved a liberty to mysele of  
 further consideration and objection. I did a little sticke  
 uppon the word (colonias) in this article, lest it might tend  
 to any thing of commerce in America ; butt, finding it only  
 to relate to the amity, I past it over.

“ 2. The first part of it agrees in substance with my sixth  
 article ; the latter part of it with my fourth article : only I  
 objected against their words in this article (in damnum illius),  
 who should be judge therof, and the omission of that part  
 of my fourth article against harbouring of ennemies and  
 rebels.

“ 3. Their third article agrees in substance with my second  
 article, butt is more generall, not naming the Sundt, and  
 explaining the word (aliorsum) in my second article ; and I  
 desired that the word populos might be added after the word  
 subditos.

“ 4. Their fourth in the beginning agrees with my third  
 article : that of it, touching the trade of America, and the  
 fishing, I answered, as I gave you a former account, and  
 theruppon denyed it, as also that part of it which concerns



importation of goods in forein bottomes, being contrary to 1654.  
 our act of parlement. In this latter end of their fourth <sup>Aprill 7.</sup>  
 article, they likewise bring in againe the buisnes of fishing  
 implicately in the words maribus, littoribus, &c. and  
 therefore I desired, that all that part might be left out, and, in  
 lieu therof, I offered the latter part of my third article, be-  
 ginning with the words solutis tamen &c. and the last of  
 my reserved articles to be admitted; or else, I desired that  
 this whole article of theirs might be omitted, and in lieu  
 therof my third article, and the last of my reserved articles,  
 to be admitted; and they likewise insist to have these words  
 added, if that part of their fourth article be omitted, viz.  
 quoad Americæ commercium, piscationem halecum, et mer-  
 cium importationem, de his in posterum erit conventum.

“ 5. Their fifth article agrees in substance with my eleventh,  
 only hath more words to expresse the same matter.

“ 6. Their sixth agrees in substance with my thirteenth ar-  
 ticle, with the addition of words for kind usage, and the  
 omission of the proviso in my thirteenth article, as to break-  
 ing of bulke; which yett seems to be supplied by the latter  
 part of their sixth article, of conforming to the ordinances  
 of the place.

“ 7. Agrees with my reserved article, marked with fifteen,  
 only the words (nihil inde juris) I thought fitt to be omitted;  
 bicause, in a treaty, we are not to meddle with perticular  
 rights; yett the sense and desire therof is answered in the  
 words for restitution: I offered them (if they liked not this)  
 my fifteenth article, which is one of those reserved, omitting  
 only that part as not conducing to this article, viz. Et si  
 lis &c.



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“ 8. Agrees in substance with my twelfth article, only the expressions heer are longer ; and that, for justice to be had, agrees with the latter part of my reserved article fifteenth.

“ 9. In the generall differs not in the substance from my seventh, and the beginning of my reserved articles ; and the lawes in this ninth article, first, second, third, and fourth, are not contrary to the substance of mine ; butt to the fifth I excepted, as contrary to part of my seventh article, and to their sixth law, as to bringing in of ships and goods taken from ennemies ; both which, nevertheless, in case we have peace with the Dutch, will be more to our advantage, in my humble opinion, to continue in, then to be omitted ; as also that, not to contend in the harbours ; and so the first, second, third, and fourth lawes. The seventh law, I humbly conceive, not differing in substance from my articles, nor disadvantageous to England : to their sixth law I desired that my seventh article might be added, the which they denyed, as to forbid ennemies, to either, to buy armes, &c.

“ 10. Agrees in part with my ninth, only the latter part of it seems to bring in the trade of America, and a liberty contrary to the act of navigation ; butt they insist that the same is saved by the latter words of this article, *modò consuetudines antiquæ* : butt I was not satisfied heerwith, and desired that that part of it which is marked might be omitted, and the latter part of my ninth article, viz. *utrisq; utrinq; observantibus &c.* inserted, which I humbly conceive will help it ; or else I desire that this tenth article may be wholly omitted, and in lieu thereof my ninth may be agreed.

“ 11. To this article of theirs I wholly excepted, bicause it agrees not with any of mine, nor with reason ; that when our ennemies have forbidden any to bring contraband goods

to



to us, that yett we should permit them to be brought unto 1654.  
 our ennemies: they told me that the queen had sent unto <sup>Aprill 7.</sup>  
 the states to repeale that placart of theirs. I answered,  
 that, when I was certefyed that that placart was repealed, I  
 would then desire to know the protector's further pleasure  
 heerin, butt before that be done, I thought it would be in  
 vaine to trouble him about it.

“ 12. Is not expresseley in any of my articles, butt agreed  
 by the councell of state unto Monsieur Lagerfeldt, only the  
 forme of the letters of safe conduct not fully assented  
 unto; therefore I desired that the same might be remitted to  
 a future agreement: butt as to the rest of this article, it is  
 not repugnant to the substance of mine, that the naviga-  
 tion and commerce may be free.

“ 13. In the first part of it agrees almost verbatim with my  
 tenth article; the latter part of it, concerning satisfaction for  
 losses, is much altered from what it was att first exhibited,  
 and is now putt on both parties, and referred to future  
 agreement, wherin there can be no prejudice to our com-  
 mon-wealth; butt before, it was reproachfull to the justice  
 therof, and laid on our part only; now it is no more then  
 what the councell and state promised in their papers to  
 Monsieur Lagerfeldt.

“ 14. Agrees in substance with my ninth article.

“ 15. Containes the substance of my fifth article, butt is  
 expresse more generally; and, as I humbly believe, no lesse  
 to the advantage of our common-wealth.

“ I found more readyness in the queen to consent to what I  
 proposed, then in her commissioners; butt some things she  
 told



1654. told me she could not consent to, because they were against  
the interest of her people, and were not considerable to  
April 7. England. I gave her thanks for my dispatch: she said she  
had an ambition to have the honor of making an alliance with  
the protector herselfe, before she quitted the government,  
and that she might testify her respects to him, and therefore  
had gone as farre as possibly she could; and indeed there is  
now very little difference, but only in words and expressions,  
from the sence and substance of what I first proposed; and  
I presume that what is heer agreed by me will give good  
satisfaction and contentment to the protector and councell,  
and I apprehend it cleerly within my instructions; acknow-  
ledging the goodnes of God to me in this buisnes, where I  
mett with so many difficulties, and of so great weight, that  
yett in a fortnight's time, it should be brought to a full con-  
clusion, with honor and advantage to the protector and  
present government, for which I have taken all care.

“ The articles are not yet drawn up, butt I hope we shall  
sign them the next week, and presently after I intend to  
demaund audience to take my leave, and to remove from  
hence, and as soon as I can to come to Lubec, and from  
thence to Hambourgh; and I have by this post humbly de-  
sired my lord protector to appoint some of his ships to meet  
me att Hambourgh as soon as they can, for my transporta-  
tion from thence to England: and I humbly intreat your  
favour to putt his highnes in mind of it, and that you will  
take care that the orders may be had, and the ships to come  
as soon as may be to the Elbe, to Hambourgh, where I shall  
stay for them, or till I receive his highnes's further com-  
maunds; and I choose this way as the shortest, and where  
I shall meet with any dispatches that may come from Eng-  
land. I presume you will be troubled with an importunate  
suitor for hastening my returne.

“ I re-



“ I received your letters of the 17th March, and the order of the councell concerning the swedish ship, for which I returne my humble thankes; the queen, and the chancellor, and others heer, were much satisfyed with it: the chancellor and his son have bin very civill to me, and lately furthering my dispatch. I hope the same goodnes of God, which hath hitherto brought me through this great buisnes, will give me a safe returne to my deare countrey and friends, where I may have opportunity, with thankfullnes, to acknowledge your constant favour and kindnes to

your affectionate friend

Upsale, 7th April,  
1654.

to serve you.

B. W.”

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke from the queen, to desire his company this evening att a masque; and they had this discourse. 8.

*Wh.* Present my thankes to her majesty, and tell her I will waite upon her.

*Mr.* What would your excellence expect in matter of precedence, as in case you should meet with any other ambassador att the masque?

*Wh.* I shall expect that which belongs to me as ambassador from the common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I know no other ambassador now in this court besides myselfe, except the ambassador of the king of Denmarke, who I suppose hath no thoughts of precedence before the english ambassador; who is resolved not to give it him, if he should expect it.

*Mr.*



1654. *Mr.* Perhaps it may be insisted on, that he of Denmarke  
 ~~~~~  
 Aprill 8. is an ambassador of an anointed king, and you are only
 ambassador to the protector, a new name, and not sacrée.

Wh. Whosoever shall insist on that distinction will be mistaken; and I understand no difference of power between king and protector, or anointed, or not anointed; and ambassadors are the same publique ministers to a protector or common-wealth, as to a prince or sultan.

Mr. There hath always bin a difference observed between the publique ministers of kings, and of common-wealths, or princes of inferior titles.

Wh. The title of protector (as to a sovereign title) hath not yett bin determined in the world, as to superiority or inferiority to other titles; butt I am sure that the nation of England hath ever bin determined superior to that of Denmarke. I represent the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the protector, who is chiefe of them; and the honor of these nations ought to be in the same consideration now, as it hath bin formerly; and I must not suffer any diminution of that honor by my person to please any whatsoever.

Mr. I shall propose an expedient to you, that you may take your places as you come; he who comes first, the first place, and he who comes last, the lower place.

Wh. I shall hardly take a place below the danish ambassador, though I come into the roome after him.

Mr.

Mr. Butt when you come into the roome, and find the danish ambaffador fett, you cannot help it, though he have the upper place.

1654.
Aprill 8.

Wh. I fhall indeavour to help it rather then fitt below the danish ambaffador.

Mr. I prefume you will not ufe force in the queen's prefence.

Wh. Mafter, it is impoffible for me, if it were in the prefence of all the queens and kings in Chriftendome, to forbear to ufe any means to hinder the difhonor of my nation in my perfon.

Mr. I believe the danish ambaffador would not be fo high as you are.

Wh. There is no reason why he fhould: he knows his nation never pretended to have the precedence of England; and you, being mafter of the ceremonies, cannot be ignorant of it.

Mr. I confefle your nation alwayes had the precedence of Denmarke when you were under a king.

Wh. I fhould never give it from them, though they were under a conftable.

Mr. If you infift uppon it, the danish ambaffador muft be uninvited againe, for I perceive that you two muft not meet.

1654. *Wh.* I suppose the gentleman would not expect pre-
cedence of me.
Aprill 8.

Mr. I can assure you he doth.

Wh. I can assure you he shall never have it, if I can help it; butt I pray, master, tell me whither her majesty takes notice of this question of precedence, or did she wish to conferre with me about it?

Mr. The queen commaunded me to speake with you about it, hoping that the question might be so composed, that she might have the company of you both att her intertainment.

Wh. I shall stay att home rather then interrupt her majesty's pleasures, which I should doe by meeting the danish ambassador, to whom I shall not give precedence, unlesse he be stronger then I.

Mr. The queen makes this masque chiefly for your excellence's intertainment, therefore you must not be absent, butt rather the danish ambassador must be uninvited; and I shall presently goe about it.

Whitelocke returned a visit to Grave Eric, and showed him the order of the councell touching the swedish ships, much in favour of them, and which seemed very pleasing to the Grave; butt he also showed to Whitelocke severall letters, which he had received from masters of swedish ships, of new complaints of taking of their ships: and he desired that the order, showed him by Whitelocke, might be extended to those whose ships had bin since taken, which Whitelocke promised to indeavour, and said, that he should be in a better capacity

capacity to serve him, and to procure discharges for their ships and goods, when he should be himselfe in England; and therefore desired that, by his dispatch, they would hasten him thither, which the Grave promised to doe.

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Att his going away, Grave Eric invited Whitelocke to dine with him on Monday next, and to come as a perticular friend and brother, and not by a formall invitation as an ambaffador. Whitelocke liked the freedome, and promised to waite on him; and was the more willing to come, that he might see the fashon of their intertainements, this being the first invitation that was made to him by any person in this countrey.

Generall Grave Wirtenbergh visited Whitelocke. He is a Finlander by birth, of an antient family, who had applyed himselfe wholly to the military profession, wherin he became so eminent, and had done so great service for this crowne, that he was had in great esteem, especially with the soldiery. He was a ricks senator, and one of the colledge of war, and att present had the charge of generall of the ordnance, which is of higher account heer then in England, being next in commaund to the generalissimo, and over the soldiery, which belong not to the trayne, and is often imployed as a generall.

This gentleman seemed worthy of his honor; he was of a low stature, somewhat corpulent, of a good meen, and plaine behaviour, more in the military then courtley way; his discourse declared his reason and judgement to be very good, and his mention of any thing relating to himselfe was full of modesty. He tooke great notice of the english navy and soldiery, and of the peoples inclinations and violent desires of liberty. He spake only swedish and high dutch,

1654. which caused Whitelocke to make use of an interpreter, his
 kinsman Andrew Potley.
 Aprill 8.

In the evening, according to the invitation from the queen, Whitelocke went to court to the masque, where he did not find the danish ambassador; butt some of the court tooke notice of the discourse which had bin between the master of the ceremonies and Whitelocke, touching precedence, and they all approved Whitelocke's resolution, and told him, that the queen highly commended him for it, and said, that he was a stout and faithfull servant to the protector, and to his nation, and that she should love him the better for it; nor was the contest the lesse pleasing, bicause with the Dane in Sweden.

From eight a'clocke att night till two the next morning they were att the masque, which was in the usuall roome fitted for the solemnity, in which the queen herselfe was an actor.

The floore where they daunced was covered with tapestry, and hung about with red velvet; butt most adorned by the presence of a great number of ladyes richly dressed and beautified, both by nature and habit, attending on their mistris: and there were also many senators, officers, courtiers, and nobility; a very great presence of spectators.

The musicke was excellent, especially the violins, which were many, and rare musitians, and fittest for that purpose.

The queen herselfe daunced very well att two entreyes; in the first, she represented a moorish lady, in the second a citizen's wife; in both, the properties were exactly fitted, and in all the rest of the actors and dauncers.

There

There were no speeches nor songs ; men acting mens parts, 1654.
 and women the womens, with variety of representations ^{April 8.}
 and daunces : the whole designe was to shew the vanity
 and folly of all professions and worldly things ; lively repre-
 sented by the exact properties and mute actions, gentilely,
 without the least offence or scandall.

It held two howers ; and, after the daunces, the queen
 caused her chaire to be brought neer to Whitelocke, where
 she sat downe, and discoursed with him of the masque.
 He (according to his judgement) commended it, and the
 inoffensiveness of it, and rare properties fitted to every re-
 presentation, with the excellent performance of their parts
 by all, especially by the moorish lady and cittizen's wife, att
 which the queen smiled, and said, she was glad he liked it.
 He replied, that any of his countrymen might have bin pre-
 sent att it without any offence ; and he thanked her majesty
 for the honor she gave him to be present att it. The queen
 said, she perceived that Whitelocke understood what belonged
 to masques, and the most curious part of them, the proper-
 ties ; with much like discourse, after which she retired to her
 chamber, and Whitelocke to his lodging.

Monfieur Bloome came to dine with Whitelocke, and to 9.
 putt him in mind of Grave Eric's request to him to dine with
 him the next day : he also sent to invite Whitelocke's two
 sons, and collonell Potley.

In the afternoon Piementelle came to take his leave of
 Whitelocke, and said, he intended to begin his journey the
 next morning ; Whitelocke offered himselfe, or his coaches
 and servants, to attend him out of town ; butt he said, it
 was not the custome, when a publique minister departed
 from a place to use any ceremony, butt to leave him to the
 liberty

1654. liberty of ordering and taking his journey, butt thanked
 ~~~~~ Whitelocke for his favour.  
 Aprill 9.

Though it were the *Lord's day*, yett Piementelle fell into discourse of the last night's masque, which he could not be present att publicquely as formerly, bicause he had taken his leave of the queen and senators, yett, being desirous to see it, was admitted into the tiring roome: and he told Whitelocke, that, after the queen had acted the moorish lady, and retired into that roome to putt off her disguise, Piementelle being there, she gave him her visor, in the mouth wherof was a diamond ring of great price, which shined and glistered gloriously by the torche and candle light as the queen daunced; this she bad Piementelle to keep till she called for it. Piementelle told her, he wondered she would trust a jewell of that value in the hands of a soldier; she said, she would beare the adventure of it: and when the masque was ended, Piementelle offered the ring againe to the queen; who told him, that he had not kept it according to her commaunds, which were till she called for it, which she had not yett done, nor intended as long as she lived, butt that he should keep it as a memoriall of her favour.

The Spanyard had cause to rest satisfyed with the queen's answer, and her reall and bountifull complement, the ring being worth 10,000 crowns, which he brought away with him, besides many other jewells and presents from the queen of great value, not publicquely known.

He took leave of Whitelocke, and of his sons, collonell Potley, and the gentlemen, with great civility.

10. Between eleven and twelve a'clocke, the usuall dining time heer, Whitelocke, with his sons, and Potley, attended  
 only



only by two gentlemen, one page, and two lacquayes, went to Grave Eric's lodging to dinner.

1654.  
  
 Aprill 10.

His roomes were not stately, nor richly furnished, butt such as could be had in that place; the outer roome for servants was like a little hall; within that was a larger roome, narrow and long, where they dined; within that was a smaller roome, hung with tapestry, used for a withdrawing roome, all below stayres, which is not usuall in these parts.

Grave Eric mett Whitelocke att the doore of the lodging; in the dining roome was his father the chancellor, and divers friends with him: the father and son went in with Whitelocke to the withdrawing roome, where, after a quarter of an hower's discourse, they were called to dinner, the meate being on the table; then a huge massy bason and ewre of silver, guilt, was brought for them to wash, some of the good bootyes mett with in Germany. After washing, one of the pages (after their manner) said grace in swedish.

The table was long and narrow; in the middle of it, on the further side, under a canopy of velvet, were sett two great chayres: Whitelocke fate in the right hand chayre, and Woolfeldt in the other, on his left hand. On the other side of the table, over against these, were sett two other like great chayres; in the right hand chayre fate the ricks dreight-sett, and in the left hand chayre, the chancellor: by Whitelocke fate Grave Gabriel Oxenstierne, and senator Vanderlin in lesser chayres, and by Woolfeldt fate Whitelocke's sons and Potley. On the other side, in lesser chaires, by the dreight-sett, fate the senators Bealke, and Bundt the younger; by the chancellor fate senator Bundt the elder, and baron Douglas:



1654. Douglas : att the upper end of the table sate Grave Eric ;  
 and att the lower end stood the carver.  
 Aprill 10.

The dishes were all silver, not great, butt many, sett one uppon another, and filled with the best meate, and most variety that the countrey did afforde ; and indeed the intertainment was very noble : they had four severall courses of their best meate, and fish, and fowle, drest after the french mode.

They had excellent rhenish wine, and indifferent good sack and claret ; their beer very thick and strong, after the manner of the country : when the four courses was done, they tooke off the meate and table-cloth, and under it was another clean cloth ; then they brought cleane napkins and plates to every one, and sett a full banquet on the table, and, as part therof, tobaccoe and pipes, which they sett before Whitelocke, as a speciall respect to him ; and he and two or three more of the company tooke of it as they sate att table ; and they so civilly complied with Whitelocke, as not to observe their own customs, butt abstaining from healths or any excesse.

They all sate bare att the table, according to their usage, chiefly (though no occasion were for it att this time) to avoid the trouble of often putting off and on their hatts and cappes in healths.

They were full of good discourse, more cheerfull then serious ; most att the table spake or understood somewhat of the english, for which reason they were chosen to accompany Whitelocke heer, as a complement to his nation : they discoursed also in severall other languages, as swedish, high dutch, french, and latin.



After dinner, which was very long, they sate yett longer <sup>1654.</sup>  
 att the table, Whitelocke expecting when they would rise; <sup>Aprill 10.</sup>  
 till Douglas informed him, that he being the guest, and an  
 ambaffador, they used it as a respect to him, that none of  
 the company would offer to rise, till he first arose from the  
 table: as soon as this was known to Whitelocke, he presently  
 rose, and the rest with him, and the chancellor and he re-  
 tired into the withdrawing roome; where, after comple-  
 ments and thanks for his noble treatement (which it  
 was said the father made, though putt out in the son's name,  
 and was full of respect and magnificence), Whitelocke  
 thought fitt to shew to the chancellor his powers to treat;  
 and they had conference to this effect.

*Wh.* Father, if you please to peruse this writing, you will  
 be satisfyed, that the protector, since the late change of  
 government in England, hath thought me worthy to be  
 trusted and furnished with sufficient power as to this treaty.

*Ch.* My deare son, this is very full, and a large testimony  
 of the good opinion your master hath of you. All your  
 powers, and the originalls of your commissions (according  
 to custome), are to be left with us, to be registered in our  
 chancery.

*Wh.* I suppose you will also deliver to me the originalls  
 of your powers to be inrolled (according to the english  
 custome also) in our chancery.

*Ch.* That shall be done.

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H

*Wh.*



1654. *Wh.* The like shall be done on my part ; and the protector will be ready to doe whatsoever shall be judged further necessary for the ratifying of this buisnes.

Aprill 10.

*Ch.* It will be requisite that you let me have in latin your instructions from the protector.

*Wh.* I shall cause it to be done, except such part of them as are secret.

*Ch.* That which is to be reserved in secrecy, I desire not to see ; there will be sufficient besides to shew your powers.

*Wh.* They will fully appeare.

*Ch.* I should counsell you, before your departure out of this kingdome, to make a visit to the prince of Sweden ; he will take it in good part, and it will testify a respect of the protector to him, and render the alliance the more firme.

*Wh.* It is my purpose to visit the prince, not that I am in doubt of the validity of the treaty made with the queen, unlesse the prince approve of it ; butt, as you advise, to shew the respect of the protector to his kingly highnes, and to acquit myselfe of a due civility.

*Ch.* It will be fitt for you to doe it ; and I shall advise you, att your returne home, to putt the protector in mind of some perticulars, which, in my judgement, require his speciall care.

*Wh.* I shall faithfully doe it, and I know they will be received, with much the more regard, comming from you ; and I pray doe me the favour to lett me know them.

*Ch.*



*Ch.* I would counsell the protector to take heed of those dangerous opinions, in matters of religion, which daily increase among you, and, if not prevented and curbed, will cause new troubles, they never resting till themselves may domineer in chiefe. 1654.  
April 10.

*Wh.* Will not the best way to curbe them, be to slight them, and so they will fall of themselves?

*Ch.* I doubt they have taken too much roote to fall so easily; butt, if they be not countenanced with preferrements, they will the sooner wither and decay.

*Wh.* That will surely lessen them.

*Ch.* The protector must also be carefull to provide money and imployment for his soldiers, else he will hardly keep them in order.

*Wh.* That is very requisite; and for money there is good provision already made.

*Ch.* He must likewise be watchfull of the king's party, who will be buisy att worke, especially uppon the new change.

*Wh.* The care therof is the life of our affayres, and his highnes is most vigilant.

*Ch.* It behoves him to be so, for they, that could not vanquish him by armes, will indeavor to doe it by craft, and treachery of your own party, which you must looke to.

*Wh.* He hath good intelligence of their plotts.



1654. *Ch.* It will also be prudence in him to lett the people see,   
 ~~~~~ that he intends not to rule them with an iron sceptor, nor   
 Aprill 10. to governe them by an army, butt to give them such a li-
 berty and injoyment of the benefit of their lawes, that the
 continuance of his government may become their interest,
 and that they may have no cause to desire a change; else
 though they must beare the yoke for a time, yett, as soon
 as they meet with an opportunity, they will shake it off
 agayne.

Wh. This is counsell proper to come from such a mind
 and judgement as yours is, and I shall not fayle to report
 it to his highnes; and your excellence hath rightly stated
 the disposition of my countrymen, who love peace and li-
 berty, and will hardly brooke slavery longer then they are
 forced to it by necessity; and the best way to governe them
 is, to lett them injoy their lawes and rights, which will rule
 them better then an iron sceptor.

Ch. It is the disposition of all generous and free people,
 as the English are, whom I truely respect, and him that is
 their head, that gallant person, the protector.

They had much other discourse; and after being together
 till six a'clocke, the father and son, and the chancellor
 and Whitelocke, called one another, and all the company
 parted.

11. The chancellor had promised to procure Whitelocke his
 dispatch in a few dayes; he sent Canterstein to communi-
 cate to him the articles drawne in forme, with the amende-
 ments, to see if there were any mistake in them: White-
 locke and the secretary perused them together, and agreed
 on

on all except two or three points, in which was some smalle difference ; and Canterstein promised to hasten the ingross-
ing of them.

1654.
Aprill 11.

Many strangers dining with Whitelocke made him the later in his visit to the queen, to take his leave of her majesty, before her intended journey to see her mother.

She promised Whitelocke, that, during her absence, she would leave order with the chancellor, and his son, to conclude the treaty ; and, att her returne, she would doe what belonged to her, for the speedy dispatch of Whitelocke, to his contentment.

She promised also to give order to her chancellor about the buisnes of Guinee, wherof they had much discourse.

She was pleased to propound to Whitelocke a secret article to be between her and the protector, and not to be in the treaty between her commissioners and Whitelocke, nor to be knowne to any of them : she sayd, that, if it might be done, she should take it in very good part ; butt if Whitelocke thought it not likely to be done, then she would thinke no more of it. She said, the substance of what she desired was, that it might be agreed, by a perticular article between the protector and her, that in case those heer should not performe what they promised to her, uppon her resignation of the government, that then it should be in the power of the protector to breake the treaty now made, and not to be bound by it.

Whitelocke was much troubled att this propofall, and uppon a great difficulty in it, that if he should deny it, the queen might be distasted, and break off from his treaty ;
and

1654. and to consent to it he had no commission, nor held it reasonable: butt he told the queen, that it was a matter of great weight, deserving her majesty's serious thoughts what to doe in it. He said, he had no instructions uppon any such article as this, nor could agree to it; butt if her majesty pleased to have such an article drawne up, and to signe it herselfe, and send it to the protector, he promised to use his best interest to perswade his highnes to a consent therunto, and to signe it att Whitelocke's returne to England, and so to returne it to her majesty.

She said, that Woolfeldt should conferre with Whitelocke about the drawing up of such an article, whom she would trust in it, butt not any of the Swedes, bicause it might concerne them, and occasion prejudice to them.

Whitelocke agreed, that Woolfeldt was a fitt person to be trusted in this buisnes, and one with whom he should willingly conferre about any service for her majesty; that he believed something might be done heerin to the queen's advantage, butt whither in this way of a secret article, and as part of the treaty, he doubted, lest therby offence might be given, and the treaty therby, as to both parts, be weakened.

The queen replied, that it would keep those heer in some feare, lest if they should breake with her, that then the protector would not keep the treaty with them.

Whitelocke thought it best to be att some reserve in this article of secrecy, not wholly to dissuade the queen from it, lest she might be distasted: he saw advantage to the protector to have it putt into his power to break the treaty uppon this occasion; butt he doubted the honor and cleer-
nes

nes of it, and, therefore, he judged it best to say the lesse ^{1654.}
att this time. Only he observed, what a condition the ^{Aprill 11.}
queen had brought her affayres unto, when she thought
not fitt to trust any of her countrymen in this buisnes; and,
before her resignation, she distrusted the performance of the
conditions of it towards herselfe, and, therefore, would have
this secret article as a bridle to them. Butt as she distrust-
ed her own party, so she testified great confidence in the
protector and in Whitelocke, to whom she propounded
this secret article of so much concernement to her.

Whitelocke perswaded her majesty to appoint faithfull
persons to order her revenue for her, and not to stay long
heer after her resignation; bicause she would then find a
great difference in the carriage of persons to her.

She said, she had taken care about her revenue as he
had advised her, and that she would be gone out of Swe-
den presently after her resignation; that she expected the
alteration of mens carryages towards her after it, butt it
would not trouble her; that the world was of such a con-
dition, that nothing of respect was to be looked for, butt
where advantage was hoped for by it. She never esteemed
the fawnings of men for their own ends, butt her own pri-
vate contentment and satisfaction.

Whitelocke sent his son James, and his secretary Earle,
to Canterstein, with a copy of the forme which White-
locke intended to follow in the instrument intended to be
delivered by him, where he putt the protector's name first,
and some other smalle variations, as usage required; wher-
with Canterstein promised to acquaint the chancellor, and
to returne an answer.

1654. Whitelocke imployed his son, for his experience to be
gained in these affayres.
 Aprill 11.

12. Monf. Woolfeldt having done Whitelocke the favour to dine with him, they retired, and discoursed privately to this effect:

Woolf. The queen was pleased the last night to send for me, and to communicate to me the matter of a secret article, which, she said, she had before imparted to you.

Wh. What is your opinion of such an article?

Woolf. Truly I dissuaded her from it, as not convenient, in my poor opinion, for either party.

Wh. I know your judgement is grounded upon solid reason.

Woolf. My reasons are, because this article is to be kept secret, and to be added as a part of the treaty by her majesty, without the knowledge of those heer, which, when it shall come to be knowne, will give them the more cause of objection and hatred against her for it, and expose her to more inconveniences then it can bring advantage to her; and, therefore, I thought it better for her majesty to forbear it.

Wh. Your reasons were the true ons. Was her majesty convinced by them?

Woolf. She seemed to make more doubt of it then at first, butt told me, that you were not much against it, and desired to conferre with me about it while she was out of towne;

towne ; and she wished me to prepare something against her
returne. 1654.

Aprill 12.

Wh. As I told her majesty, I can consent to nothing in this point, having no instructions in any matter of this nature, as you will easily believe ; butt if her majesty shall thinke fitt to have any thing drawne up by way of a secret article, all that I can doe, will be to present it to the protector att my returne home ; and I know he will be as ready as any person to shew respect to the queen : butt what he will doe as to a consent in this perticular, I cannot tell ; butt am doubtfull, lest it may be apprehended, as a weakening of the treaty and alliance.

Woolf. That is a great and true objection against it ; and, in my opinion, it would be better for the queen to write a letter to the protector in generall complement, and, in it, to desire him to be a friend to her, and to give her his assistance uppon any occasion that may fall out concerning her : and this letter may be sent by you, and delivered by your hand to the protector ; when you may acquaint him with any thing further, or more perticularly relating to her majesty.

Wh. I thinke this will be much the better way ; and if such a letter be sent by me, I hope I shall be able to procure such an answer, or, uppon any occasion, such a returne, as will be to the contentment of her majesty : butt, in case the queen should signe such an article, and then the protector should not approve it, it would distast the queen and her friends, and she would be censured to have done too low an act in it.

1654.

Aprill 12.

Woolf. I had yesterday a long discourse with the chancellor about your affayres of England, and, perticularly, of your fleet now att sea; what should be the designe of having so strong a fleet att sea, the sea-war between you and your ennemies being reported att an end, and peace concluded; and whither your designe might be for France, or Spayne, or Portugall.

Wh. Or for the defence of England.

Woolf. He was much amused about it.

Wh. I hope that was not lessened by you.

Woolf. No indeed; I indeavoured to amuse him more, and told him, that for France, England did not care to have it; it would be butt a charge, and no benefit to them, and imbroyle them in a long chargeable war.

Wh. England hath had experience therof formerly, when they were masters of France; and many of us thinke our own countrey as good as France.

Woolf. I am of that opinion; and I told him, there was as little probability for any design against Spayne, bicause of its distance, and little advantage to England by a war with them.

Wh. I hope you commended a kingdome called Denmarke.

Woolf. I first told him, that for Portugall, or the Indies, the like objections were against any design for them; butt as for Denmarke, I told him, that England had just cause
to

to make war uppon that king, and that it would be no 1654.
hard buisnes to gaine uppon him: and the advantage of
traffique made me thinke that to be the most probable designe, ^{Aprill 12.}
of any other, to be intended by this great fleet of England;
wherin it is most likely for you to gaine advantage to your
common-wealth, and to give offence to none, having a just
cause of quarrell against him.

Wh. Your brother the king of Denmarke hath given
cause indeed to be visited.

Woolf. I shall informe you of one thing, of which you
may now make advantage. Your king James made a
treaty with the last king of Denmarke, concerning the isles
of the Orcades, which were claymed by the Dane as part
of their territories; and, after the death of king James,
and our last king, that then, uppon payment of 13,000 l.
by the Dane, he should have the Orcades againe. Now,
both these kings being dead, according to that treaty,
it is in the liberty of the king of Denmarke to re-
deem those islands; and it would be good for you, in the
treaty with that crown, who would be included in your
treaty with the Hollanders, to have a clause for the present
king of Denmarke to quitt his pretences to the Orcades
uppon the treaty with king James.

Wh. This is a very materiall thing, and I shall not fayle
to doe somewhat in it, if I can returne to England time
enough; and I thanke you for putting me in mind of it.

Grave Eric came to Whitelocke, who had much discourse
with him touching Guinee, and the injuries done by the
Swedes to the English there.

1654. *Eric.* One of the principall persons of the swedish plantation there is now in this countrey, and complaines of injuries done by the English to the Swedes there; I thinke it may be fitt to heare both the complaints of the one and of the other part, and theruppon to come to some agreement uppon the whole matter.

Aprill 12.

Wh. I have heer many examinations taken uppon oath concerning this matter.

Eric. Those complaints ought to be determined by the king of that countrey, who sould the lands to the planters, and can resolve all differences about that matter.

Wh. I believe that the complaints of this nature are properly to be made to the queen, whose subjects are concerned in them, and they are alwayes under her rule.

Eric. The queen will make no difficulty to doe justice in this case, and I hope that the protector will doe the like.

Wh. You need not att all to doubt it.

Eric. This messenger, now come to me, hath brought me letters from the queen, in which there is mention of this buiñes.

Wh. Why may not an article touching Guinee be inserted with the rest?

Eric. That will not be convenient, bicause the articles are intirely concluded, and ingrossed, on our part; and this of Guinee is butt a perticular buiñes which, till now, came

came not under consideration, nor hath bin examined; 1654.
and it will be better to have an article by itselfe uppon ^{Aprill 12.}
this subject.

Wh. I am fatisfyed with your reason, and thinke this way will be no disadvantage to the marchants of either nation. I desire an addition to the article touching passeports, that none shall doe any thing contrary to the letters of passeport.

Eric. I cannot consent to that, for it will render the whole article fruitlesse in both parts; and there is another article, that, in case any shall act any thing in prejudice of the treaty, he shall be punished.

In consideration of this article, and in regard that the agreement, touching the forme of passeports, was remitted to something to be done therein afterwards, and he found Eric stiffe against any alteration, Whitelocke did not thinke it materiall to insist further uppon it.

As to that which Whitelocke desired to the last article of ratification, that the words (vel successoribus suis) might be omitted, Eric said, he would consent therunto if he found it materiall, and desired the buisnes might be finished; and he desired Whitelocke to excuse a little smalle delay att present by his absence for a few days, he being necessitated to goe out of town to-morrow, butt, att his returne, all should be concluded: and, as soon as the queen came backe, the whole buisnes should be finished; which had bin done before, butt by reason of the queen's unexpected journey.

In

1654. In the morning the chancellor came to Whitelocke, and
 } stayed with him neer three howers; they had much debate
 Aprill 13. touching Guinee, to the like effect as before with his son:
 they had also debate about the amendements which White-
 locke had desired might be inferted in the articles, chiefly
 that touching passeports, to which the chancellor would by
 no means agree. He likewise said to Whitelocke;

Chan. The queen caused the articles to be copyed out,
 to the end (as I believe) to communicate them to the prince,
 which will be for the greater validity of the treaty and
 alliance.

Wh. I am glad her majesty is pleased to take the advice
 of the prince in this buisnes, and am willing to promise
 myselfe, that nothing is contained in the articles which he
 will not approve.

Chan. I believe the same.

Wh. This might be the occasion that my buisnes was
 not finished before her majesty's going out of towne.

Chan. I myselfe am also going into the countrey, and
 come now to take my leave of you.

Wh. I hope you will returne before her majesty.

Chan. I purpose to stay abroad butt four or five dayes;
 and I find, that frequent exercise, and change of aier,
 tendeth very much to the improving of my health.

Wh.

Wh. I doe heartily wish your health ; and hope that the ^{1654.} queen and you will shortly be in town againe, and that ^{Aprill 13.} then my buisnes will be finished.

Chan. There is no doubt butt that your buisnes will be dispatched within a very few dayes after the queen's returne.

They had much other discourse touching the affayres of England, in which the chancellor testified much respect to England and to the protector.

Whitelocke invited the chancellor to dinner to his house ; butt he excused himselfe, alleadging, that his age and infirmities would not permit him to take a meale out of his own house, or att the houses of some of his children, where he might injoy the same liberty as att his own house.

Whitelocke told him, that he should have the same liberty att his house (who was one of his sons), as he could take att the houses of any other of his children ; butt the chancellor earnestly desired to be excused, and Whitelocke thought not fitt further to importune him, butt desired him to hasten his returne hither, which he promised to doe.

Whitelocke received his letters from England, and, in that from Thurloe, he writes :

“ There hath bin consideration taken of your returne home, butt the issue of the treaty with the Dutch not being yett knowne, his highness's resolutions, as to your returne, are deferred untill the next ; the difficulty of that buisnes lyes in the article relating to the Danes, &c.

“ All

1654. " All things else remaine as they did by my last, so that
 your excellence will be saved this week the labour of read-
 ing my long letter. This day we have a fast for the great
 drought.

" My lady was heer with me to hasten your returne,
 wherin I should be glad to be instrumentall. I pray God
 preserve your excellency, and blesse the affayres under your
 hand. I am

your excellency's humble servant,

March 24th, 1653.

JO. THURLOE."

" I saw a letter to his highnes from Upsale, wherin some
 expressions were used, as if your excellence were like to
 be removed from the seale: his highnes commaunded me
 to assure you, that there are no such intentions, butt much
 the contrary; wherof your excellence will have reall demon-
 strations uppon all occasions."

14. Grave Eric desired Whitelocke to give a passeport to a
 swedish ship bound from Stockholme to Portugall: the
 chancellor requested the same, and both father and son in-
 gaged to Whitelocke, that there was nothing aboard the
 vessell, nor any designe in her voyage, against England;
 that she was freighted for Portugall only, and that they
 should esteem the favour as done to themselves, bicause
 they had a share in the goods on board this ship.

Whitelocke, though he were hardly perswaded to give
 his passeports to swedish ships, or to any other, yett, con-
 sidering the time when this was desired, and the persons
 desiring

desiring it, he thought not fitt to deny it, butt gave it in 1654.
this forme *.

Aprill 14.

* See appendix C.

“ Wheras Peter Gerbrant, cittizen of Stockholme, and
“ commaunder of a ship belonging to her majesty the
“ queen of Sweden, called the Sudermanland, loaden with
“ corne, and other swedish marchandizes, is now bound
“ for Lisbone in Portugal ; and, for his better passage,
“ hath desired of me, being ambassador extraordinary
“ from his highnes the lord protector of the common-
“ wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto her
“ majesty the queen of Sweden, to give him my passe
“ and letters recommendatorie: These are therefore to de-
“ fire all commaunders and officers by sea or land, and
“ all others of the said common-wealth, whom it may con-
“ cerne, to permit the said Peter Gerbrant, together with
“ his said ship and lading, to passe unto the said port of
“ Lisbone quietly, and without any molestation ; and so to
“ returne from thence unto Stockholme, with such lading
“ as the said master shall there think fitt to take into his
“ ship. Given, under my hand and seale, att Upsale in
“ Sweden, this 14th day of Aprill, 1654.

“ B. W.”

Whitelocke gave an account in his letters this day to
Thurloe of all passages of moment since his last, and wrote
further :

“ My letters, I confesse, have bin tedious heertofore,
butt I ask your pardon, and doe hope, that my buisnes is
now att such a period, that I shall not have occasion to
trouble you with the like.

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K

“ There

1654. [~] “ There is little to doe heer att this time, almost all the
 Aprill 14. great lords and courtiers are gone out of towne, so that
 heer is a lamentable silent place. I shall be heartily glad
 to receive my lord's order to authorise my returne; butt
 my buisnes being now ended, I presume I may expect his
 pleasure att any other place. I purpose to visit the queen
 mother, and the prince of Sweden, bicause other ambassa-
 dors have done it, and I have bin perticularly invited to it.
 I thinke it will be a respect from my lord protector, which
 they will take very kindly, and may be some strength to
 the alliance; and is not the lesse requisite for me, bicause
 our ennemies report, that none butt mechanicks are of our
 party; butt, since our being heer, the Swedes acknowledge
 the contrary.

“ I hope within two or three weekes to be att sea, and
 that my God, who hath hitherto bin so good to me, will
 give me a safe returne to my lord, and to my native coun-
 trey, to whom I wish all prosperity.

Your affectionate friend to serve you,
 Upsale, 14th Aprill, 1654.

B. W.”

“ I hope you will pardon the importunity of my wife's
 sollicitation, being for my returne. I have bin informed
 this week, that some holland ships are loading heer with
 ordnance, and other provisions of war. I hope his high-
 nes hath bin pleased to give order for two or three ships to
 be att Hambourgh for my transportation into England, and
 therin I intreat your favour.

B. W.”

In this letter Whitelocke also gave advice, what he had bin informed touching the treaty between king James and the last king of Denmarke, concerning the Orcades, with his humble opinion what was fitt to be done in that buisnes, uppon the comprehension of the Dane in the Dutch treaty; yett nothing was done therin: however Whitelocke was satisfied in the acquittall of himselfe to have done his duety.

1654.
 ~~~~~  
 Aprill 14.

Uppon the earnest request of some Scotts and English gentlemen, on the behalfe of collonel Halfall, now in this town, Whitelocke gave him this passe.

“ Wheras the bearer heerof, lieutenant collonel Robert  
 “ Halfall, had a passe from collonel Robert Lilburne, com-  
 “ maunder in chiefe of the forces in Scotland, under his  
 “ highnes the lord protector of the common-wealth of  
 “ England, Scotland, and Ireland, to transport himselfe,  
 “ his servant, and necessaries into Sweden, uppon his oc-  
 “ casions; and having dispatched his buisnes, he hath  
 “ made his request to me, being ambassador from his said  
 “ highnes the lord protector to her majesty the queen of  
 “ Sweden, to graunt him my passe for his retorne into  
 “ Scotland: These are therefore to desire all commaunders  
 “ by sea or land, and all officers, and others, of the said  
 “ common-wealth, whom it may concerne, to suffer him,  
 “ the said lieutenant collonel Halfall, quietly to passe into  
 “ Scotland, he acting nothing prejudiciall to the common-  
 “ wealth aforesaid; and further I desire, that the com-  
 “ maunder in chiefe in Scotland will be pleased to shew  
 “ unto him, the said lieutenant collonel, such favour att all  
 “ times as he shall there deserve. Given, under my hand  
 “ and seale, att Upsale in Sweden, this 14th of Aprill,  
 “ 1654.

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”



1654. The resident of France having desired Whitelocke, that,  
 ~~~~~  
 Aprill 15. when he went abroad to take the aier, he would give him
 leave to accompany him; Whitelocke sent to him, this
 fayre day inviting, and leifure not hindring it: they went
 together in Whitelocke's coach to a wood, about an english
 mile from Ubsale, full of pines, firre-trees, and juniper,
 and very fayre and pleasant walkes in it. The beauty of the
 day and place had also invited thither, att this time,
 the ambaffador of Denmarke, and the Holland resident;
 who, perceiving Whitelocke's coaches and company, crossed
 out of the way where they were, and betook themselves
 to another walke: butt Whitelocke kept on in his, and
 with the french resident had much generall discourse, butt
 little of matters of ftate, bicaufe they could not trust one
 the other; yett Whitelocke learnt from him the condition
 of feveral persons, in principall credit in the court of
 France, and the way of their management of affayres.

This gentleman was very civill and courteous, and good
 company, defiring the conversation of Whitelocke, which
 he afforded him both going abroad, and in his house, to
 which the resident did him the favour to be no stranger.

Whitelocke told him, he purposed to goe by Norcupin,
 and, by the way to visit the queen mother and the prince,
 and to have his ship meet him there. The resident faid,
 the ship could not easily come to Norcupin, being no good
 harbour; butt his best way would be to goe from thence to
 Colmar, and his ship to meet him there, the haven being
 open, and the ship may come neer the town; and that
 Norcupin was the mid way between Stockholme and Col-
 mar, and the ship might be as soon att Colmar as att Nor-
 cupin; that the passage to Lubec was much easier from
 Colmar then from Norcupin, and, with a good wind, might
 be

be made from Colmar in two dayes: butt, heerof, White- 1654.
locke intended to have the advice of some Swedes.

Aprill 15.

Monf. Bloome, this *Lord's day*, dined with Whitelocke, 16.
and told him, that the chancellor had left him in town to
keep Whitelocke company in the absence of the chancellor,
and to assure him, that the chancellor would returne
agayne in a very few dayes. Whitelocke made much of
him, and had good informations from him.

He said, that Grave John Oxenstierne, the chancellor's
eldest son, had att that time, whilest his father was alive,
above 20,000 l. sterling of yearly revenue, which he had
from his father, and, by his wife, an inheretrix; and that
Grave Eric, the second son, had, in his father's life time,
neer 10,000 l. sterling of yearly revenue, besides what both
of them might expect from their father; and, therefore,
both father and sons, might (as they did) live in great state,
and with attendance of much porte and ceremony.

Grave Leonhough bestowed a visit on Whitelocke. He
is a senator, and one of the colledge of war; a person of
great esteem, and good parts: his conversation was full of
civility, his discourse (in french) was rationally, and for the
most part uppon matter of war, history, and the mathema-
tiques.

In his company was an officer, his brother-in-law, who
had served the king of Portugall in his late warres, and
was a civill person, and seemed a gallant man.

This Grave had bin long bred up in the warres, and was
now a generall major; and his discourse showed him to be
knowing and modest.

He

1654. He demaunded of Whitelocke many questions touching
 the affayres of England, and perticularly of the late civill
 Aprill 16. dissentions there, and had a full account therof from White-
 locke, by which he seemed to receive much satisfaction;
 and acknowledged, that he had not heard the trueth before,
 and that this relation justified the proceedings of the par-
 lament. He spake nothing to Whitelocke touching his
 buisnes of the treaty, nor did Whitelocke mention it to this
 Grave, whom he never saw before, and bicause it was a
 day for other dueties.

17. Ubsale being very empty, by the absence of the queen
 and all the great lords, who were retired to their countrey
 houses, butt most of them to Stockholme; it was given out,
 that her majesty would not returne to this place, butt re-
 maine att Stockholme, and that the generall assembly should
 be held there; which was not believed by Whitelocke, bi-
 cause the queen had assured him, that she would returne to
 Ubsale within eight or ten dayes, and she never brake her
 word with him.

Her absence, and the leisure which they had therby,
 gave opportunity to some of her musitians, Italians, and
 Germans, to passe a complement on Whitelocke, to come
 to his house, and, with great ceremony, to intertaine him
 with their vocall and instrumentall musick, which was ex-
 cellent good; and they played many lessons of english com-
 position, which the gentlemen, who were musicall of White-
 locke's family, brought forth unto them.

18. Whitelocke returned a visit to the Grave Leonhough,
 whose lodgings were butt meane, such as the town would
 afforde; butt his treatment was with great civility.

Amongst

Amongst other discourse, he inquired touching the discipline of war, and ordering the soldiery in England; who, he said, must be well paid, or else they could not be kept in good order.

1654.

April 18.

Whitelocke acknowledged that to be very true, and said, that in England speciall care was taken for the constant and due pay of the armies, much beyond other countryes; by which means they were kept in the best, and strictest discipline of any armies in the world; that violence or plunder, contrary to the articles of war, was severely punished.

The Grave acquainted Whitelocke, that he was to goe out of town the next day to a generall muster, about four leagues from hence, within the province where he had the government; which occasioned Whitelocke to inquire of him, and to be informed, that this was the standing militia of the countrey, and that the manner of it was thus.

The whole militia of Sweden in the countrey, besides the standing forces of their armies in service, doth consist of 50,000 horse and foot; wherof 12,000 horse and 38,000 foot, in the severall provinces, are constantly in a readines to be drawn forth in fourteen dayes time: in Sweden are about 5,000 horse and 20,000 foot, and, in Finland and the other provinces, about 8,000 horse and 20,000 foot; in all above 50,000.

That the crowne is not att any charge for the pay of these militia forces, unles they are drawne forth into actuall service, and then they are payd as their other army forces are, which is not very much or constant; butt when they are in an ennemies countrey, they live uppon the countrey,
and

1654. and take contribution, if not plunder: and somewhat is allowed them by the crown, as so much in money (which is a very small proportion), and such a weekly quantity of bread, butter, and cheese, for every foot soldier, and a like proportion for the horsemen; whose charge may be guessed at by that of their officers, of whom it was affirmed, that the allowance to a captain of horse was his stove and his stable, and twenty ricks dollars a year. His stove, they call his fire, candle, and entertainment for himselfe; his stable, that is horse-meat, and roome, and shoeing; and for himselfe, from the crowne (besides what he gets from the countrey), but twenty ricks dollars a year, with the like proportion for other officers and soldiers.

The manner of maintaining their militia-forces, in the countrey, was said to be this. A horseman was quartered in the house of a boore, or husbandman; if the man will worke himselfe and his horse with the boore, to help him in his husbandry, then the boore gives the man and his horse entertainment freely, and hath their worke for it, which is more worth then their meate; and the boore will give the man perhaps some small summe of money besides. By this way, the boore hath an advantage, the work of a man and a horse for their meat only; and the horseman hath an advantage, his own and his horse meat, besides what the crown allowes him, and himselfe and horse kept in better condition by it; and, without his work, the boore is not compellable to find him but his lodging only.

In like manner it is for the foot soldier. He is quartered with a boore, and must worke for the boore, or have no diet from him; but they doe worke generally, and, by that means, the soldier is kept out of idleness: the countrey-
man

man hath a benefit by his worke, for his diet only ; wheras, 1654.
 he must give diet and wages to a servant, and the soldier, ^{April 18.}
 by his worke, hath his diet, besides what the state allowes
 him, and so he and his landlord are both well pleased. Butt
 the crown hath the greatest advantage, which heerby saves
 the great pay, which otherwise they must allowe ; and yett
 these forces are constantly in a readines, when the occasions
 of the crown require their service.

The officers of these militia forces have no pay att all
 butt when they are in actuall service, neither doe they ex-
 pect any pay, being gentlemen of quality and interest in
 the countrey ; the chiefe of whome, who are fitt for it, are
 made collonells, the next to them lieutenant collonells,
 majors, captains, and inferior officers, according to their
 ranke of the countrey gentlemen, knowne and beloved
 among their neighbors, with whom their interest and power,
 increased by their commaund, makes them the better fol-
 lowed and obeyed : when they write out any from the mi-
 litia to serve in the armies, these officers, and the lords of
 the boores, appoint them ; and, if any offend, they are
 presently written out to send abroad into Russia, Poland,
 Germany, and other parts, from whence they doe not all
 returne safe, butt are kept in great awe and obedience.

This day heer fell a great quantity of snow, and was in
 one night so hard frozen, that it would beare a cart ; the
 English wondered att it, butt not this country-men, the like
 being heer usuall att this time of the year, and after.

The countesse of Brahé, wife of the ricks dreight-fett,
 sent a gentleman to Whitelocke to acquaint him, that there
 was a parcell of timber cutt, and lying ready, within four
 miles of Gothenbergh, which did belong to her former
 husband,

1654. husband, and was cutt for the building of a ship; butt, by
 ~~~~~ reason of her husband's death, the ship was not built, and  
 Aprill 18. she offered the timber to Whitelocke att a reasonable price:  
 butt he finding that it had bin cutt four years, and lay far  
 from the water-side, made an excuse, that it would be ne-  
 cessary to have it viewed, which his hastening away would  
 not now permit; butt he returned thanks to the countess  
 for her respects in the offer of it.

19. Monf. Bloome, and divers others, having dined with  
 Whitelocke, acquainted him, that the chancellor intended  
 to returne hither the next day after the queen. Whitelocke  
 said, he hoped the chancellor would have bin heer before  
 her majesty; butt this was an argument to confute the re-  
 port, that the queen would stay att Stockholme and hold  
 the ricksdagh there: another argument was, the queen's  
 officers removing and altering some of the hangings in  
 Whitelocke's house, being longer and fitter for the roomes  
 to be furnished in the castle for the ricksdagh, then  
 those which they putt up in their places in Whitelocke's  
 lodging.

20. In pursuance of former discourse with Monsieur Bloome,  
 and by the desire of Mr. Bushel in England to Whitelocke  
 to inquire into it, he received a paper in french, from a  
 person heer employed about the mines, to informe him by  
 what means this person might be treated with to be brought  
 into England, for improving of our mines there.

Whitelocke also, by desire of a worthy friend in England,  
 furnished himselfe with a direction, how he might procure  
 some hawkes out of this countrey, and chiefly from the Isle  
 of Deulandt, where the best hawkes are: and he had gained  
 much acquaintance with Grave Gabriel Oxensteirne, great  
 faulconer



faulconer and master of the queen's hawkes, who promised his furtherance of Whitelocke's desires heerin, and to assist and direct any servant whom he should send hither for that purpose. 1654.  
April 20.

One Katherine Pen, an english woman, the widow of an officer of the queen's army, intreated Whitelocke to present for her a sad petition to the queen, for some arreares due to her husband, which matters Whitelocke was not forward to meddle with; butt this being his countreywoman, and of the antient family of Pen in Buckinghamshire, to which he had an allyance, Whitelocke did undertake to present her petition to the queen.

He undertooke the like for a decayed english marchant, residing att Hambourgh, who petitioned the queen for moneyes owing to him att Bremen; where he could have no justice from the governor, vice chancellor, and others in authority: and this he undertooke to move to the queen, uppon the earnest request of Mr. Bradeshaw, resident for the protector att Hambourgh, by his letters this day received.

He was also presented with a latin epistle from one Jonas Olaii, begging for some charity, and who, to be sure to goe high enough, gave throughout his letter the stile of illustrissime Comes and Celsitudo tua, for which his guift from Whitelocke was the lesse.

In this dayes paquet, Whitelocke received letters from the Muscovia company in England, signed by the governor and consulls, in which they set forth the decay and losse of their trade in Muscovia, by supplantation of the Dutch, and the Great Duke's disfavour to them, which they hope  
L 2 may



1654. may be altered uppon the late change of gouvernement in  
 April 20. England; that they understand, there is now in this court  
 an ambassador from the Great Duke to the queen; and they  
 desire Whitelocke, that if this ambassador doe visit him, or  
 if he thinke fitt to visit the Russian ambassador, that he  
 would intimate this matter to him, which they hope may  
 much further their purpose of sending to the Great Duke for  
 recovery of their trade.

By this post Whitelocke received these letters from the  
 secretary Thurloe.

*For his Excellence my Lord Ambassador WHITELOCKE, att  
 Upsale, in Sweden. These.*

“ MY LORD,

“ Your letters of the 24th of February arrived heer five  
 “ or six dayes later than usuall, and this day’s post is not  
 “ yett arrived. The peace with the Dutch hath bin in such  
 “ an uncertaine condition, that it was very hard to make  
 “ a judgement concerning the issue of it. In the end of the  
 “ last, and beginning of this weeke, it was more probable  
 “ that the war should continue then otherwise; and your  
 “ excellence will see by the inclosed papers, which passed  
 “ between the commissioners of his highnes and the am-  
 “ bassadors (which I have sent to you bicause there is con-  
 “ tained in them the true state of the treaty as it stood  
 “ whilest the differences lasted); the last of those papers will  
 “ lett your excellence see, that they are now very near a  
 “ closure; and the trueth is, that there is now nothing  
 “ wanting butt the drawing up of things into forme, and  
 “ the signing on both sides, which I believe will be effected  
 “ within three or four dayes att furthest. Butt bicause  
 “ we



“ we cannot rely upon the peace as made, untill it be ac- 1654.  
 “ tually signed, his highnes will deferre the sending in- <sup>April 20.</sup>  
 “ structions to you in reference, either to your present ne-  
 “ gotiation, or returning home, untill the next, when your  
 “ excellence may certainly expect them; and in the meane  
 “ time, your excellence may rest assured, that there hath  
 “ bin no other cause, in delaying instructions to you uppon  
 “ this subject, butt the desire that there is in every body to  
 “ give you cleer directions in so doubtfull a case as this.  
 “ If your staying or returning did depend uppon your own  
 “ negotiation there, it were easy to leave you to your own  
 “ guidance; butt when it rests meerly uppon the conclu-  
 “ sion of the present treaty heer with the Dutch, it is not  
 “ possible to give you any instructions, which you may with  
 “ safety act uppon, untill the issue therof be perfectly  
 “ knowne; and after that, your excellence shall not be an-  
 “ hower without the knowledge of his highnes's pleasure  
 “ theruppon.

“ It is certaine, this state hath moved uppon christian  
 “ grounds only in making this peace; we have not bin  
 “ beaten or frighted into it: the Dutch have not yett any  
 “ fleet att sea, nor can have this moneth, if the war  
 “ should continue. In the meane time, we have 140 sayle  
 “ att sea, and better ships then we have had att any time  
 “ heertofore, which gives occasion to all our neighbours to  
 “ wonder att our intentions therby.

“ Since I begun my letter I have bin with the dutch am-  
 “ bassador, and every article is agreed word for word, so  
 “ that nothing now remains to be done, butt to write them  
 “ over and signe, which will be done uppon Monday next.  
 “ It is not possible for me to send unto your excellence a  
 “ copy of the articles, as they are now agreed; I hope to  
 “ doe



1654. " doe it by the next, when you will be fatisfyed concerning  
 ~~~~~ " the reports, I heare there are in Sweden, concerning the  
 April 20. " honorable termes the Dutch have gotten by this treaty.
 " I know not what men may expect in matters of honor ; I
 " am fure the true interest of the nation, both in point of
 " trade and otherwife, is provided for more fully then ever
 " hath bin in any treaty made between these states.

" The french ambaffador had a publique audience on
 " Monday laft : there is joined with him in commiffion one
 " Monsieur le Baas, in quality of a commiffary, who is a
 " great confident of the cardinal's, and a very crafty man.
 " The french doth certainly intend by all meanes to make
 " a league with his highnes, and offers very frankly and
 " confiderably, as to our present interest. The Spanyard
 " yett thinkes he faith more to invite the protector to looke
 " that way, and imbrace an alliance with him ; and fure he
 " is the fteady friend, and hath the better and more con-
 " fiderable trade.

" The newes I have either from France or Holland this
 " weeke, your excellence will receive inclofed. The af-
 " fayres in Scotland doe not much alter : Middleton is very
 " active to gett an army, butt keeps in the moft northerly
 " parts. We never mett with any of their forces butt we
 " beate them : the laft letters being, that we fell uppon a
 " party, and tooke forty prifoners, and fixty horfe, which
 " is all we have from thence.

" I have done my uttmofte to gett the fwedifh fhips re-
 " leased ; butt to fay the trueth, although fome of the
 " Swedes are innocent, yett many of them appear to be de-
 " ceivers, which makes the reft fare the worfe. I indea-
 " voured to gett a refolution of the cafe your excellence
 " wrote

“ wrote about by your former letters, so as to have sent it 1654.
 “ by this post, butt could not: the orders, which have bin ^{April 20.}
 “ made about it since my last, I have sent; wherby your
 “ excellence may see the care that is had to doe justice
 “ therin.

“ What your excellence is informed concerning the pre-
 “ ferring of the agent of the Swisse to Lagerfeldt in their
 “ farwell, is a great mistake: I know no honor, done to
 “ him att his going away, butt the sending the answer of
 “ his letter to him by the master of the ceremony; he had
 “ neither guift, nor intertainment, that I know of.

“ I hope the copy of the articles of the dutch treaty,
 “ which I formerly sent, your excellence hath received be-
 “ fore now. I am sorry to heare that your intertainment
 “ in Sweden begins to be like my lord St. John's in Holland;
 “ butt I trust the Lord will continue his protection to your-
 “ selfe and family, which is the prayer of

“ your excellence's humble servant,

31. March; 1654.

“ JO. THURLOE.”

“ Monsieur Bonnele, the queen of Sweden's commissary,
 hath desired audience to deliver a letter congratulatory to his
 highnes from the queen: the superscription is not very
 right, besides your excellency having writ nothing about
 it, some difficulty hath been in the delivery of it; butt yett
 att last resolved to receive it as it is.”

This letter is inserted to shew by it the constant way and
 course of intelligence, and the generality and cleernes of it,
 between Thurloe and Whitelocke, wherby his buisnes and
 reputation

1654. reputation in this court was very much advanced; and Whitelocke made great use and advantage by it. The papers usually inclosed in Thurloe's letters were many, and contained all particulars of moment touching the dutch treaty, as also relating to the affayres of England, and of most parts of Christendome. One clause in this letter of Thurloe's, that, after the dutch treaty concluded, his highnes would send new instructions to Whitelocke, for his direction to proceed in the treaty in Sweden; this gave much trouble and perplexity of thoughts to Whitelocke.

He could not imagine what those new instructions should be; if they should be contrary to what he had already agreed, it would be not only to the dishonor of Whitelocke, butt of the protector likewise, and of the english nation, for him to goe back from what he had before assented to, and to goe out heer with a snuffe, retracting his former agreement, or else he must proceed contrary to his instructions, which would not be ratifyed; and both of these mischiefs great enough.

He was in suspence, whither he should seale the articles heer before hand, or expect the receipt of these instructions before he signed them; he considered, that if he should deferre the signing of the articles, till after the receipt of those new instructions, that then they could not att all be signed by the present queen, who intended to continue butt one week in the government: and if she did not signe in that time, she could not signe att all; butt the whole must be remitted to a new treaty with the new king, uppon new credentialls, commiffion, and instructions, which would require much time and trouble.

He

He thought not fitt to communicate his doubts, butt re-^{1654.}
solved with himfelfe to proceed to the finishing of the treaty, ^{April 20.}
without staying for new instructions from England, bicaufe
otherwise all his negotiation would become fruitles; and he
held himfelfe obliged, in honor and conscience, to make
good what he had already assented unto, before any men-
tion of new instructions came to him, and what he had
done, being pursuant to his former instructions, and, in his
judgement, for the advantage and good of England.

He was also willing to perswade himfelfe, that the new
instructions would extend only to the order of his returne,
and was so to be taken by Thurloe's letter, and to the close of
his whole negotiation; wherin he had done nothing, and re-
solved not to doe any thing, butt what he believed to be
just and honest.

He was also troubled, lest the queen should putt off the
treaty uppon some distaste about the secret article, and yett
pretend only the absence of her chancellor; butt Whitelocke
left all to the providence of God, and his blessing uppon
honest and diligent means, wherin he resolved not willingly
to be wanting. And whither to putt it off or to proceed to
the dispatch of it, seemed the more difficulte, bicaufe of a
letter from his wife; wherin she wrote that Thurloe said to
her, that it was fitt her husband should receive certain in-
structions what to doe before his comming away; bicaufe, if
he should doe any thing too suddenly, without good warrant,
it might cost him his life. This indeed were a worthy and
meet recompence for all the hardships, perills, and faithfull
services undergone and performed for those, who were then
in power; butt his hope and expectation of reward was from
above the highest of them.

1654. Whitelocke made his dispatches for England, and part
 of his letters to Thurloe was this:
 April 21.

“ The queen and court being out of town, this is a so-
 “ litary place. The danish ambassador and the dutch re-
 “ sident are still heer. The spanish, german, and musco-
 “ vite envoyés are gone away. My buisnes remaines
 “ in a readines to be signed, which is appointed uppon
 “ the queen’s retorne; and she is looked for every
 “ day. If they be not signed within these few dayes, it
 “ cannot be done by her att all; bicause she intends to re-
 “ signe the gouvernement the beginning of May, and per-
 “ haps the prince may be crowned in June; and two or
 “ three moneths after that will pass, before new credentialls
 “ can be sent from his highnes; and it may be two or three
 “ moneths in ceremony and dispatch of the buisnes, by
 “ which time another winter will be heer.

“ Uppon which considerations, I humbly conceive it
 “ much more for the service of my lord to dispatch my
 “ buisnes heer out of hand, and the rather bicause of the
 “ conclusion of the dutch treaty, which, I hope, will prove
 “ very prosperous to our nation.

“ My articles had bin signed before the queen’s going
 “ away, butt that she was willing to communicate them to the
 “ prince before her commissioners signed them; which I like-
 “ wise thought very fitt to be done, in regard he is so neer
 “ the succession. And I likewise intend to salute him from
 “ my lord protector, before my going out of this countrey.

“ I am now only in expectation of his highnes’s further
 “ commaunds and instructions, concerning my retorne,
 “ which I hope for by the next post.

“ I give you most hearty thanks for the papers, which 1654.
 “ are not only a comfort, butt very usefull to me heer. I re-
 “ ceived formerly from you a copy of the dutch articles, ^{April 21.}
 “ and if I did not returne you thanks for them, I confesse
 “ I forgot myselfe ; and likewise, if, in one of my letters,
 “ I did not acquaint you, that the queen had an intention
 “ (as she told me) of sending a congratulatory letter to my
 “ lord the protector : butt how the direction of it was, I
 “ know not, bicause I never saw it ; butt I take it as a per-
 “ ticular favour to me, that his highnes was pleased to re-
 “ ceive it, though it were not as it ought to have bin ; wherein
 “ he hath answered the respect of the queen, who excepted
 “ against my credentialls, butt yett received them.

“ I am exceeding glade of your good conclusion of the
 “ dutch buisnes, which, I am perswaded, will be of great
 “ advantage to our nation ; and I looke uppon the issue of
 “ my buisnes heer being agreed, before the issue of our
 “ treaty with the Dutch was known, to be both a perticu-
 “ lar respect to the protector and government, and lesse
 “ difficulte then it would have bin, if transacted after our
 “ agreement with the dutch.

“ They are much amused in these parts att our gallant
 “ fleet, and so early att sea ; and I permit them all their
 “ conjectures, neither have they gained much allay of them
 “ from me by their inquisitiveness.

“ I had a complement sent me, the last night, from the
 “ dutch resident, that he hoped ere long to have an oppor-
 “ tunity to come and visit me : I answered, that I should
 “ not be wanting in that civility which became me.

1654. " I was intreated, by the cittizens of Stockholme, to receive this suit of theirs in the inclosed paper.

April 21.

21. April, 1654.
Ubsale.

" B. W."

22. The french resident visited Whitelocke, and, seeing him ready to goe take the aier, offered him his company, which Whitelocke could not refuse: they went together to the library of this university, where there are many good bookes, for the most part brought out of Germany; butt it is not extraordinary, nor exceeding the publique libraries in England, and elsewhere. One of Whitelocke's gentlemen held it not exceeding his lord's private library att his own house in England, as he affirmed to some of the schollars heer, who were not pleased therewith, nor would easily believe, that the english ambassador's library, in his private house, was to be compared to that of their university.

The keeper of this library is one doctor Lovenius, there present, a learned and civill person, who hath published severall books in print, touching the lawes, and government, and antiquities of his countrey, in good latin; and both himselfe and his works are worthy of esteeme. He was attending uppon Whitelocke all the time of his being in the library, and in the publique places of the university, and informed him of such things as he inquired touching the same; and, to gratify their civility, Whitelocke sent them twenty of his own bookes, which he had in his house, all of them english authors, as the Primate of Armagh's workes, Sir Henry Spelman, Selden, and others; which was a present very acceptable, and kindly received by the university from him.

They

They affirme this university to be very antient ; butt there ^{1654.}
 are no colledges or publique houses for the maintenance of ^{April 22.}
 the schollars, or publique revenue belonging to them ; so
 that they doe not live together in bodyes or companies by
 themselves, butt every one severally, as he can agree or find
 for his conveniency.

Butt heer are divers publique roomes or schooles, where
 the professors and schollers use to meet and performe their
 exercises openly ; and the romes of their library are three,
 about twenty foote square a-piece.

There are all sorts of professors for the arts and sciences,
 who are promised good salaries, butt they complaine that
 they are not well payd ; and though some of them be very
 learned, yett they take not much paynes ; it may be accord-
 ing to the proverbe, mal payé mal servi, he that is ill payd
 doth butt ill service : some counted the number of schollars
 to be about 300, which is not more then may be found in
 one colledge in England.

They make great preparation by printing their theses,
 and publishing them, and inviting the grandees to their dis-
 putations, where the queen in person is sometimes present,
 though the exercise is only the art of well disputing, except
 in some of their professors and eminent persons.

Their university is a kind of corporation, like others,
 their want of supplyes not affording them so much perfec-
 tion ; and their defect of government giving them liberty
 and temptation to disorder, to which they are much addicted ;
 butt in their sermons, whilest the English were among them,
 they would propose them as a patterne of civility and pious
 conversation. Their government is by a chancellor, who

att.

1654. att present is the ricks chancellor; and it hath constantly
 bin in the hands of some eminent and great person.
 Aprill 22.

Whitelocke and the resident visited the cathedrall church, which is fayre and large, built with bricke, and covered with copper: they affirme it to be one of the most antient churches of Europe, and that the gospell was heere early planted, butt earlier in the church of old Upsale, which is of a quadrangular forme, and formerly dedicated to their heathen gods. Their cathedrall, they say, was the seat of an arch flamen, and in the places of arch flamens, and flamens, uppon their conversion to christianity (as in England so heer), bishops and arch bishops were instituted; and now their cathedrall, as other churches, is full of images, crucifixes, and such other furniture, as the Lutheran churches tollerate, and is little different therin from the popish churches.

The resident and Whitelocke tooke also a view of the castle and citty of Upsale. The castle is neer the town, seated uppon the point of a hill; it is built of bricke, plaistered over, strong and beautifull: if it had bin finished, the designe was to have had it fower square, butt two sides of it only are built; it had bin very large and noble, if it had bin perfected. As it is, it containes many roomes, and sufficient for the court; some of them are great and stately, butt up two stories, after the fashion of that countrey: if it had bin finished, it would have equalled any other, if not the castle of Stockholme itselke.

The prospect from the castle is very beautifull; the countrey round about it pleasant and fruitfull, and distinguished into meadowes, pastures, and arable fields, and the river Sale passing through them, which looseth itselke about halfe a league from thence into a great lake.

The

The river is navigable with boates of about twenty or thirty tunnes, many leagues together, going through the lake also; it is not muddy, nor unfurnished with the fish of those parts, and is about halfe as broade as the Thames att Henley. It runnes att the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, and the town is built uppon it; and it waters most part of the streets, to their great commodity.

It is for this reason called Ubsale, bicause Ubbo, who, they say, was the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, this Ubbo built this town uppon the river Sale, and therfore called it, after his own name, Ubbo Sale, by contraction of speech now called Ubsale.

All agree it to be one of the most antient of their cittyes, the metropolitan see of their archbishop; and, in old time, the residence of their kings, and where they were invested with the regall dignity.

The countrey about it seemed one of the most pleasant and fruitfull of these parts; the town itselſe not much beautified with stately buildings, not above nine or ten houses being built with brick; the rest of them, after the fashion of their countrey, built with great bodyes of firre trees, and covered with turfe; the fayrest of their brick houses was that where the english ambassador lodged.

This citty hath not much trade, and therefore not much wealth; the government of it is according to the municipall law of the countrey, and as other cittyes are: their head officer is a burgh master, who hath for his assistants a councell, in the nature of the common councells in our corporations in England, consisting of the principall burgesſes and

1654. and inhabitants of the citty, who have power with the burgh
 master, as to making of ordinances, and in the governement.
 Aprill 22.

In their journey to take the aier, the resident and Whitelocke had much discourse, touching the images in their church, and about the observation of their sabbath; wherein the resident was furnished with the usuall arguments of the papists, and was answered by Whitelocke, and was not so positive as most of his perswasion use to be.

He discoursed also about the dutch treaty in England, to gett from Whitelocke what he could to report to the danish ambassador and dutch resident; for which he was fitted by Whitelocke's answers to him.

23. This being the *Lord's day*, many gentlemen of the English and Scotts nation, then in town, came to Whitelocke's house to the morning sermon, and most of them stayed the afternoon sermon also; and so many strangers being there attentive in the holy dueties, it gave the greater cause of scandall and offence to Whitelocke, that divers of his own family were absent, wheras, by his orders, they were all enjoined to a constant attendance, especially att those religious exercises: nevertheless some of them (perticularly Mr. Castle and Andrew Potley) were therein more in fault then others, and, after many admonitions, would not reforme, butt made it their common practice almost every *Lord's day* in the afternoon to be absent, and to goe abroad and take the aier.

Whitelocke considering the reproach and scandall, and the ill example heerby to his family, and the doing of that by some of them, against which he had spoken so much heer to the people of this place, uppon which it would be collected, that either he had not the power over his own people
 to

to order them as he judged fitt, or else that he and the rest ^{1654.}
of his company were dissemblers, and found fault with that ^{Aprill 23.}
in others, which they either acted or tollerated in themselves ;
Whitelocke finding two absent on this day, he gave order
to his steward to see their tronkes and goods carryed out of
his house, and themselves dismissed of further attendance on
him, and removed from his family : yett afterwards, uppon
the interceding of others for them, and their own sub-
mission, the punishment was suspended ; and when they
perceived that Whitelocke was in earnest, it caused a refor-
mation, both in those two and in others, as to this duety, and
in other perticulars.

About nine a'clocke this evening the queen came to towne ;
she had in her traine butt one coach with fixe horses, and
three horsemen : so little ceremony did she observe as to her
own porte, but would rather make this suddain and private
returne then breake her word with Whitelocke, whom in a
complement she had promised to be heer againe within a few
dayes, and she kept her word honorably and constantly ;
butt Whitelocke was sorry that she continued her old custome,
too frequent heer, of travayling uppon the *Lord's day*.

Whitelocke waited on the queen to give her the wellcome ^{24.}
home, and found her lodgings changed, leaving the better
roomes for the prince ; she excused her long stay out of
town, and said she would now have no more delay in his
buisnes, butt it should be forthwith dispatched. Whitelocke
told her, that the chancellor and his son were not yett come
to town ; but he humbly thanked her majesty for the speed
of her returne : she assured him that her chancellor and his
son would be in town the next day, and that she should not
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1654, have come to town so soon butt for his buisnes, that the day
 after her chancellor's comming the articles might be signed.
 Aprill 24.

She likewise discourfed with him about the secret article, that in case those heer should not performe justly with her, that then the protector should not be bound by this treaty. Whitelocke told her, that Woolfeldt and he had conference about it, and had fully considered it, and were both of opinion, that it would be unfitt for her majesty to make such an article, and it might turne to her prejudice; butt Whitelocke said, that if she pleased to write to the protector, and to leave her letters with Whitelocke to procure an answer from his highnes to her majesty, wherby his care for her good and assistance to her might appeare, and the letter to be fitt to be showed, it might be of more advantage to her then such a secret article, to which he was not impowred to assent, butt it must be remitted to the protector: and whither he would consent to it, in that way or not, was doubtfull; and when it should be knowne to those heer, it would be distastfull. Uppon this, the queen seemed fully satisfied, as to the secret article to be layd aside, and not more thought on.

Whitelocke advised her as formerly touching her liberty, and not long continuing heer after her resignation; and she thanked him for his advice, and sayd, that in case those heer should not deale justly with her, she hoped she should find the protector a friend to her, and that she did putt herselfe uppon his nobleness and friendship.

Whitelocke told her, that the protector was a great lover and maintainer of justice and honor, and had a perticular affection to her majesty, which he believed she would find him ready to manifest uppon this or any other occasion; and
 find

find him a true friend to her; wherewith (poor lady!) she ^{1654.}
 seemed much comforted, having brought her affayres to so ^{April 24.}
 low an ebbe as this was; and thus high was the protector's
 reputation heer.

As to the generall buisnes of the treaty with Whitelocke,
 she said, it would be fitt to have the articles signed to-mor-
 rowe, and that Whitelocke soon after should have his audi-
 ence, and she would give order to have it done accordingly.

She asked Whitelocke if he would beare her company to
 take the aier, which he did; and she riding a horse managed
 to the great saddle, who was troublesome, she came into her
 coach, and caused Whitelocke to sitt in the same boote with
 her, that they might discourse the more privately. There
 were also in her coach the senator Rosenhaw, Grave Tot,
 and Steinbergh.

The queen freely told Whitelocke, that if he would not
 sell his horses, as she understood he would not, that yett she
 should take it for a favour, if he would lett her have one of
 his setts of coach horses, which would doe her great service
 in her intended journey, they being fitter for travayle then
 any she had. Whitelocke told her, they were all att her
 majesty's service; that he thought it not becoming him to
 sell them, butt if she pleased to accept them, she should
 freely have them; that he thought his black horses fittest for
 her, and best, and there were eight of them, and the
 other sett he intended to present unto the prince: that, she
 said, would be very well, and she kindly thanked him, and
 accepted of his complement.

Whitelocke also told the queen, that he had a smalle cabi-
 net of glasses of spirits of waters, essences of excellent kinds,

1654. extracted; butt he believed that her majesty did not much
 ~~~~~  
 Aprill 24. esteem such things, and they were too inconsiderable to  
 make a present of them to the queen mother, if she had any  
 liking of them. The queen said, her mother was much  
 pleased with such essences, and that she would send them to  
 her from Whitelocke. He asked when he should bring them,  
 and an english bible which he promised to the queen; she  
 said, to-morrow if he pleased, and that att all times he  
 should be wellcome to her.

25. Grave Eric sent his secretary to Whitelocke to informe  
 him of his being come to town, purposely for the dispatch  
 of his buisnes, and for the signing of the articles; and he  
 desired to know what time this afternoone he might have the  
 liberty to come and visit Whitelocke, after he had bin with  
 the queen. Whitelocke told the secretary, that he should  
 be glad to see his lord, after Whitelocke had likewise bin  
 att the court; and there they mett.

Whitelocke went in to the queen, and presented her with  
 the cabinet of essences, which was of green velvet, lined  
 with silver lace very richly; within it were about twenty  
 glasses of spirits of the rarest kinds, each glasse stopped with  
 a silver head of english silver, to screw off and on, and a  
 lock and key of the same; and opening the cabinet, the  
 queen smelt of most of the glasses, butt tasted none of them:  
 she highly commended them and the cabinet, especially the  
 english silver, wherof she had some discourse, and said, she  
 would send them to her mother, who would be very glad of  
 them.

Then, according to his promise, he presented her ma-  
 jesty with an english bible of a very fayre print, and richly  
 bound; and uppon that they had this discourse.

Wb.



*Wh.* If your majesty would be pleased to spend some time 1654.  
in reading this bible, and comparing it with those in other <sup>April 25.</sup>  
languages, it would be a great help to your understanding  
of the english, if your majesty have any further thoughts  
therof.

*Qu.* My desire still is to gaine the english tounge ; and I  
thinke this, which you mention, will be a good way to learne  
it. I aske your pardon that you staid so long before you  
came in to me ; no-body told me of your being without, and  
I am ashamed of this incivility.

*Wh.* The incivility, madame, is on my side, by inter-  
rupting your greater affayres ; butt I come not now as an  
ambassador, but as a perticular servant to bring this bible to  
your majesty.

*Qu.* It is a noble present, and there was the lesse reason  
to make you stay for admittance with it.

*Wh.* This booke was presented to me by an english doctor,  
with a letter, mentioning the text, that the Beræans were ac-  
counted the more noble, bicause they received the word with  
gladnes, as I hope your majesty will.

*Qu.* I receive it from you with much thankfullnes, and  
shall gladly make use of it as the best of bookes.

*Wh.* Your majesty, by often reading it, and comparing it  
with other bibles, will not only therby gaine advantage, as  
to the language, butt the highest comfort to your soule.

*Qu.* I have used to reade much in the bible, and take  
great contentment in it.



1654. *Wh.* Your majesty will find more contentment and com-  
 fort in the study of this booke, then of all other bookes what-  
 soever; and therefore, I doe humbly recommend the often  
 reading of it to your majesty.

*Qu.* I doubt you have an ill opinion of me, that you so earnestly perswade me to this, as if you thought me too backward in it.

*Wh.* I only give my humble advice to your majesty, out of my own experience, of the great comfort, wisdom, and true pleasure, which is to be mett with in this booke, and no where else, and that all things out of it are of no value.

*Qu.* I am full of the same opinion; butt there are too many who have not so venerable an opinion of it as they ought to have.

*Wh.* There are indeed, madame, too many, who mock att this booke, and att God himselfe, whose book it is; butt these poore wormes will one day know that God will not be mocked, and that they and their reproaches will sadly perish together; and I am glad to heare your majesty's distast of such wicked ones.

*Qu.* Surely every good christian ought to distast such men and such opinions.

They had much more discourse uppon the same subject, wherein Whitelocke spake the more, bicause he found the queen more inclined to it now then he had perceived her to be att other times.

Being



Being come from the queen, he spake with Grave Eric in 1654.  
 another roome, whose opinion was, that it would be fitt to <sup>Aprill 25.</sup>  
 sign the articles on the morrowe, and said, that his father  
 would be returned time enough to doe it. Whitelocke  
 doubted, that by reason of his weariness after his journey,  
 it might not be then convenient. Eric replied, that there  
 would be nothing to be done that would occasion trouble,  
 the signing and putting the seales to the articles already pre-  
 pared and agreed on, was all that was to be done.

Whitelocke demaunded if the power given by the queen  
 to her commissioners were sealed; Eric said it was not, butt  
 that Canterstein would be in town this evening, and would  
 see all done.

Grave Eric came to Whitelocke's house, and this discourse 26.  
 passed between them.

*Wh.* It seems to me somewhat strange, that, after all things  
 agreed between her majesty's commissioners and me, I should  
 yett attend three weeks to obtaine one halfe hower for the  
 signing of the articles.

*Eric.* The queen's going out of town hath occasioned  
 it, and the great buisnes touching her resignation, which  
 hath so taken up all men's thoughts and counsell, that  
 there hath bin hardly roome left for any other matter: and  
 when the queen goes away, those of the councill also take  
 the liberty to goe into the countrey, and, uppon such ex-  
 traordinary changes as these are, it is no strange thing for  
 publique ministers to be retarded; and the same thing hath  
 bin practised uppon your changes in England.

*Wh.*



1654. *Wh.* I have not observed, either in England or elsewhere,  
 that after an agreement uppon a treaty, and nothing re-  
 maining butt to signe and seale, that they have used after-  
 wards to delay it three weeks together; yett I am willing to  
 promise myselfe, that the servant of the protector may ex-  
 pect from this crown as much respect, as any other publique  
 minister.

*Eric.* There hath bin more respect showed to you then  
 hath bin accustomed to any other: I believe your buisnes  
 may be dispatched in halfe an hower; and if my father re-  
 turne this evening time enough to doe it, it may be done  
 this night, if not, then without fayle to-morrow morning.

*Wh.* I am the more earnest heerin, looking uppon it as  
 my duety to the protector and my respect to this crowne; to  
 avoyd any occasion of discontent between the two nations;  
 and therefore, I shall freely tell you, that it will be very ma-  
 teriall to have the articles signed this day, or to-morrow, be-  
 fore I receive this week's letters, by which I expect to under-  
 stand, that the articles between England and Holland are  
 signed; among which articles one is, that neither the one  
 nor the other confederate shall make any alliance with any  
 other prince or state, without first giving notice therof to  
 the other confederate: now, if the articles between the  
 protector and the queen be signed, before I have notice of  
 this by the dutch articles being signed; the signing of our  
 articles heer first will be without exception in this point;  
 butt if I receive this information from England before the  
 articles be signed heer, it will be doubtfull whither then I  
 shall be in a capacity afterwards to signe the articles heer,  
 wheruppon fundry inconveniences will ensue, which I would  
 willingly prevent.

*Eric.*



*Eric.* This is indeed a material point, and I am much startled att it: I shall goe and see if my father be come to town, that I may acquaint him with it, and doubtless the buisnes may be finished to-morrow.

1654.  
April 26.

*Wh.* What doe you resolve to doe in the matter I proposed touching Guinee?

*Eric.* The person concerned in that buisnes is now in towne; I shall bring him to you, to give you information therin, and, uppon speaking together, we may come to some conclusion in it: I thinke the best way will be to prepare an article to this purpose; that all injuries done by the one or the other party in the severall plantations in Guinee, and the satisfaction and damages to be given to the parties grieyed, be uppon the whole matter remitted to the consideration and arbitrament of persons to be chosen, as well by the company of english marchants trading to those parts, as of the marchants of this countrey having interest in the plantations there.

*Wh.* I thinke this may be a good expedient for this buisnes; and I shall rather submit to it then depart from hence, without any agreement att all to have this matter either now or att some other time to be taken into consideration; and therefore, if you please to direct an article to be drawne up to the effect proposed by yourselfe, and to send it to me to be perused, I shall be willing to consent to any reasonable settlement of this buisnes; so as my countrymen, the english marchants, interested in that plantation, may have no cause to believe that I have neglected what was specially recommended to me on their behalfe, and that my superiors may see my care in this as well as in other matters.



1654. In the evening Monf. Bloome sent word to Whitelocke  
 that the chancellor was come to town, and that Canterstein  
 April 25. was expected this night.

Presently Whitelocke sent to the chancellor, to know how he did after his journey, and when he might have the liberty to visit him; the chancellor answered, that he was well, and purposed this evening, or to-morrow morning, to goe to the queen, and afterwards he would send to Whitelocke, to lett him know what time they might meet to finish his buisnes.

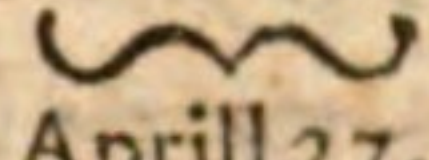
This seemed to Whitelocke a little different from the ordinary rules of civility; that when he sent to the chancellor, to know att what time he might come to him, the chancellor answered, that his purpose was to goe to the queen; butt Whitelocke hoped, that the intent was to receive her majesty's direction in his buisnes.

27. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke from the chancellor to tell him, that the chancellor was come to town purposely for the signing of the articles. Whitelocke said, he was much obliged to the chancellor for so great a favour, and that, after three weeks elapsed since the articles were agreed, he might now hope it would be thought seasonable to confirm that agreement with hand and seale.

Lagerfeldt answered, that it might be done this day, and therefore he came to Whitelocke, that his secretary might meet with the queen's secretary, and they together might examine the books, which, in the evening, may be signed and sealed by both parties.

Wb.



*Wh.* Hath Monf. Canterstein procured the queen's patent 1654.  
to authorise her commissioners to conclude this treaty?   
April 27.

*Lag.* It must be done before the signing of the articles, and then you may have your audience when your excellence pleaseth.

*Wh.* It were fitt to have that done.

*Lag.* I know not whither the presents, which her majesty intends to make to your excellence and your company, be yett ready; and I know the queen intends to expresse as much honor to you, as she hath done to any ambassador whatsoever.

*Wh.* I desire no greater honor then the dispatch of my buisnes, and liberty to returne home.

*Lag.* I shall serve your excellence therein to the utmost of my power.

In the afternoon, Whitelocke sent his son James, and his secretary Earle, and Swift, with the articles and papers touching his buisnes, unto Canterstein, where they examined them, and corrected what was mistaken; they asked, at what hower Whitelocke might repayre to the chancellor for signing the articles? Canterstein answered, that the chancellor was weary with his journey: butt he went to him, and brought word, that if Whitelocke would come to the chancellor about five or six a'clocke this evening, he would be ready to conferre with him.

This being reported to Whitelocke by his son, he sent him back to Canterstein, to know whither the queen had



1654. sealed the graunt of power to her commissioners; who  
 April 27. brought word, that it was not done, and that the queen  
 went out of town this evening, and returned not till to-  
 morrow.

After this message, and when Whitelocke saw that his letters of this week were not come, he sent to the chancellor to lett him know, that he feared it might be troublesome to him for Whitelocke to come to him this evening; and that, if he pleased, Whitelocke would come to him the next morning. To which the chancellor willingly agreed, and appointed their meeting to-morrow, betwixt eight and nine a'clocke in the morning.

The chancellor inquired, whither Whitelocke had yett received his letters from England? The servant of Whitelocke said, that the letters were not yett come; butt that, by the last weekes letters, the newes came, that the peace between England and Holland was certainly concluded; to which the chancellor said, I desire to be excused.

By these passages Whitelocke perceived, that their little designe was (notwithstanding all he had indeavoured), that before they would signe the articles, they desired to see this week's letters; which he tooke, as directed by the good hand of Providence, in regard that, by this means, he should be the more excused in what he intended to doe, having stayed for this week's letters and received none; and the politicians heer would be deceived in their expectation.

He wondered att the queen's going out of town before she sealed the commission to her deputyes; some thought the reason



reason to be, bicaufe her intended presents were not yett 1654.  
ready.

Aprill 27.

Whitelocke received a letter from the protector's resident att Hambourgh, wherin this was part :

*For his excellence my lord ambassador Whitelocke, extraordinary ambassador from England with the queen of Sweden.*

“ Humbly these,

“ The english letters are not yett come, butt from Hol-  
“ land they write, that two expresses were come on the  
“ 21st instant, with letters, assuring, that the peace was  
“ concluded and mutually signed; and that as soon as the  
“ ratification could arrive in England from the states gene-  
“ rall, hostility should cease.

“ I am, my lord, with tender

Hambourgh,  
15th Aprill, 1654.

“ of my humble service, your

“ excellency's most humble servant,

“ R I. BRADSHAWE.”

Whitelocke made use of this intelligence, as farre as it would goe, and some others in this towne had the same newes from Holland.

Att the time appointed, Whitelocke and his company 28.  
came to the chancellor's lodging, with whom was his son  
Grave Eric, and secretary Canterstein. Whitelocke's son  
James and his secretary Earle were admitted into the  
roome; all the time of their being there, secretary Canter  
stein



1654. stein was uncovered, and did not sitt. Whitelocke's son  
 ~~~~~  
 April 28. James was also bare (as became him), butt was admitted to
 sitt downe att the lower end of the table, on the same side
 with his father, who sate att the upper end, and the chan-
 cellor over against him, and Grave Eric by his father.

The chancellor acquainted Whitelocke, that the queen
 had shewed the articles to the prince, who did well ap-
 prove of them, and desired to have a strict league and
 friendship with the protector, and that the prince was ready
 in what should appertaine to him to contribute to that
 end.

Whitelocke answered, that the protector would esteem
 the friendship of the prince a great honor to him, and to
 show his desire of it, that Whitelocke intended to salute the
 prince from the protector.

The chancellor, and his son, said, that it would be very
 necessary for Whitelocke to doe so; and that the prince in-
 tended to come neerer to this citty, and then Whitelocke
 might have the better passage to his court by water, by the
 lake Meter, then to goe to him by a land journey; and
 that, from the prince, he might, by the same lake, be
 transported to Stockholme.

After many ceremonies and complements, with apologies
 for the delay of the sealing of the articles, they fell to their
 buisnes.

Grave Eric read the articles prepared by Whitelocke, and
 his father overlooked them; Whitelocke's son James read
 the articles prepared by the chancellor, and Whitelocke
 overlooked them: and, some mistakes being amended,
 White-

Whitelocke asked, whither the queen's commission to give them power were sealed? They answered, it was prepared, and that the queen would seale it; and it was usuall to be done att any time after the sealing of the articles: that yesterday it was not fully ready for the queen, before her going out of town, butt that she intended to be heer againe this day, and all would be ready for her sealing.

The chancellor directed Canterstein to reade the copy of the instrument for giving power to the queen's commissioners, and desired Whitelocke to give to him the commission of the protector to Whitelocke; who said, that he had formerly delivered to them a copy of it, which was then read: and the chancellor tooke exception to it, because there was no mention in it of ratifying what should be heer agreed uppon by Whitelocke; who answered, that this clause of ratification was in his first commission, under the great seale of England; unto which the commission and powers, given him since by the protector, doe referre; and he offered to deliver into their hands that commission under the great seale. And if they should require, that Whitelocke might yett have a larger power (wherof he thought there was no need, they might perceive, by the protector's letters, that he would not scruple to give it), Whitelocke said, that he would take it uppon him, att his returne to England, to procure it to be done; butt, he said, he could not leave with them the protector's letters and instructions to him, because part of them was secret.

The chancellor said, it was the custome to deliver the original letters of power into the hands of the other party, that they might be registred in the publique acts of the chancery, and that Whitelocke should receive their commissions to carry with him into England; that if he would

1654. passe his word, that, att his returne to England, he would
 procure new and larger powers, and take care to send the
 letters of them hither from the protector, they should be
 satisfyed therewith : which Whitelocke promised to doe, and
 desired, that the queen would ratify all that should be done
 heer before her resignation, and keep the ratification by
 her untill the protector should seale letters of ratification
 on his part, and then they might be exchanged, and mu-
 tually delivered.

The chancellor consented heerunto, and asked, what seale
 the protector used in these publique buisnesses ? Whitelocke
 said, he used his own seale : the chancellor asked, if he did
 not use the seale of the common-wealth, in regard that this
 league was between the queen and kingdome of Sweden,
 and the protector and common-wealth of England ? White-
 locke said, that the protector might, if he pleased, com-
 maund the seale of the common-wealth to be affixed to the
 letters of ratification, which he believed would be done if
 they desired it ; and that, by the same reason, it was fitt
 that the letters of ratification heer should be under the
 great seale of Sweden.

The chancellor said, that in Sweden, when the governe-
 ment was in the hands of commiffioners, the king or queen
 not being crowned, it was usuall for some chiefe men, of
 alliance to the deceased king, to make use of his private
 seale, and of no other ; that if this treaty were with the
 Polles or Danes, or others, that being wanting in their let-
 ters which was in Whitelocke's, he would not proceed any
 further with them, untill they should procure a fuller power
 and commiffion : and he said he had bin present att many
 treatyes, which had bin broken off uppon a lesse defect
 then appeared in Whitelocke's letters ; butt in regard their
 buisnes

buisnes was with the protector, whom the queen and him-
 selfe did so much honor, and had so great a confidence in
 him, and uppon Whitelocke's promise to procure such a
 power as they desired to be enlarged to him from the pro-
 tector, the chancellor said, they were ready to confirme the
 articles with their seales. Whitelocke tooke uppon him
 what they desired, and then the chancellor and his son
 Eric sealed that part of the articles which Whitelocke had
 prepared; and Whitelocke sealed the other part of the arti-
 cles, which had bin prepared by the chancellor and his son
 Grave Eric *.

1654.
 Aprill 28.

The english of these articles are not inserted, the same
 being in print.

* For the
 articles
 of the
 treaty,
 see ap-
 pendix P.

The queen's commissioners insisted to have the date of
 these articles 11th Aprill, bicause then they were fully
 agreed, and the time after was for ingrossing and prepar-
 ing them to be signed and sealed; and Whitelocke did not
 oppose their desire heerin.

Thus, after a long and intricate (it might be said vexa-
 tious) transaction of this great affayre, for neer five moneths
 together, all bitter oppositions, cunning practices, and per-
 plexed difficulties, being removed and overcome, through
 the goodnes and assistance of the only wise counsellor, the
 Prince of Peace, it pleased him to give a good issue and
 happy successe in the conducting of this treaty by him,
 who accounts his great labour and hazards in this transac-
 tion well bestowed; and humbly prayes, that this treaty
 may prove to the honor of God, the interest of the pro-
 testant cause, and the good of both nations therein con-
 cerned.

1654. Though Whitelocke received no letters this weeke from
 ~~~~~ England, yett he had some from Hambourgh, and from  
 Aprill 29. Flanders; among which was one from Don Piementelle full  
 of civility and complement, giving Whitelocke notice of his  
 safe arrivall in Flanders, and advising him to take that  
 way in his returne: and in it was a letter in spanish from  
 Piementelle to the prince of Mamines in Flanders, to be  
 made use of by Whitelocke, if he should have occasion  
 there, for the more safety and accomodation of his  
 journey \*.

\* See ap-  
 pendix Q,  
 for the  
 spanish  
 letter.

This letter Whitelocke caused to be translated.

“ Most excellent sir,

“ My lord Whitlocke, the lord ambassador extraordinary  
 “ of England, having finished his ambassy in this court, is  
 “ resolved to returne through this province, having passed  
 “ from Hambourgh to Colen; and that he may goe to  
 “ Bauffarias with better security, he desires a passeport  
 “ from your highnes to the lord Archduke. I, having writ-  
 “ ten that it may be dispatched, and added, that it may  
 “ be remitted to your excellence, doe intreate you to  
 “ order, that the said dispatch may be delivered to the  
 “ party, whom the said lord ambassador shall send from  
 “ Colen for it; and that, he passing through this village,  
 “ his lordship, by his civill intertainment, may understand  
 “ the favour your excellence doth afford me; I owing to  
 “ this honourable person many and singular respects,  
 “ which I desire to manifest and acknowledge. I am con-  
 “ fident your excellence will assist me heerin, and will be  
 “ disposed to imploy me in many services of yours in Ma-  
 “ drid, whither I am commaunded to goe, by order from  
 “ my



“ my lord the king, and shall begin my journey within 1654.  
 “ three or four dayes, by way of Bauffarias; where I hope <sup>April 29.</sup>  
 “ to find your excellency’s commaunds, which, I assure  
 “ you, I shall esteem in all places, and obey with the  
 “ highest punctuality. God preserve your excellence the  
 “ many years of my desires.

“ Your excellency’s greatest servant,

“ ANT<sup>o</sup>. PIMENTELL.”

In the letter, which Whitelocke wrote to Thurloe, after an account of the passages since his last, he wrote thus:

“ Having received no letters by the post yesterday from England, I was contented to seale the articles of our treaty; for if butt a few dayes should be intermitted, they could not have bin signed att all, bicause uppon Tuesday next the ricksdagh, or parlement heer, is appointed to meet, and within two or three dayes after their meeting, the queen intends to resigne her gouvernement, and it will be some time after before the prince be crowned. I shall have much to doe to dispatch the necessary ceremonies heer of my publique audience, to take my leave of the queen, with the many visits I am to performe, according to the custom, to which I am to conforme, in regard of the honor of his highnes and our nation; for he, who neglects these ceremonies heer, is censured for a mechanick or a boore. I intend from hence to goe to the prince of Sweden, to salute him from my lord protector; as I am advised, that the prince expects and desires it. From thence I purpose to goe to Stockholme, where I am to take ship for Lubec, and from thence to Hambourgh; where I shall attend his high-



1654. nefs's further commands, or some ships to be lent for my  
 ~~~~~ transport into England, which I earnestly intreate you to  
 April 29. procure in time.

“ I hope, before my going from hence, to receive his highness's order, which I long since wrote for, concerning my returne: butt, however (my buisnes being effected heer), I presume I may, without displeasure to his highness, be uppon my returne homewards; the rather, bicause uppon the change which is shortly to be heer, my commifion will be att an end.

“ The queen intends, shortly after her resignation, to goe to the Spawe, which I have cause to believe: in those parts, they say, the king of the Romans will waite uppon her; butt that I doubt.

“ Her majesty hath showed extraordinary affection and respect to my lord protector; so hath the chancellor and his son Grave Eric, and my lord Lagerfeldt, &c.”

Whitelocke waited on the queen, and gave her an account of the signing and sealing of his articles; wheruppon she said,

Qu. I am glad that this buisnes is done to your satisfaction.

Wh. There remaines only your majesty's sealing your letters of full power to your commissioners, who treated with me.

Qu. I sealed them this morning.

Wh.

Wh. Then my humble suit is, that your majesty would appoint a day for my audience to take my leave.

1654.
April 29.

Qu. This is Saturday, butt if you desire it you may have it on Friday next.

Wh. Would your majesty's leifure permit to give me audience on Tuesday or Wednesday next, they being no holydayes?

Qu. The affembly is to sit on Tuesday, and att their first meeting I shall have a great deale of buifnes with them, which will hinder me from any other affayres.

Wh. I humbly pray your majesty to appoint it, as soon as your own leifure will permit, for I shall have many buifnesses and ceremonies after it to performe, before my going away.

Qu. On Monday next I will appoint a day; and touching the secreet article, about which I formerly discourfed with you, I have now altered my opinion, and am resolved to follow the advice that you and Monf. Woolfeldt have given me; I will write a letter under my own hand to the protector, to the effect you advifed, and deliver it to you to be prefented to him.

Wh. This will be much the better way.

Qu. I desire you to be carefull of the letter; and, before I feale it, I will shew it to you for your advice in it.

Wh. Madame, I shall have a speciall care of it, and to procure an answer of it from the protector, I hope, to your majesty's

1654. majesty's contentment, that you may make use of it if there
 shall be occasion; and I believe the protector will be a firme
 April 29. friend to your majesty.

Qu. I doubt it not, nor your respects to me.

Wh. I am ingaged, by your many favours, to serve your majesty with all faithfullnes.

Qu. I had some clothes in a ship comming hither, and the ship is taken, and my clothes detained in England, so that I cannot gett them to weare.

Wh. If your majesty want clothes, I have a piece of english stufte att my house, which cost two shillings a yeard; and, if that were not too deare for your majesty's wearing, I would send it to you.

Qu. Two shillings a yeard is deare enough for me: I pray send your stufte hither, and I shall willingly accept it, and thanke you for it.

Wh. Will your majesty be pleased on Monday next to goe into England?

Qu. Hardly so soone; yett perhaps I may one day see England: butt what is your meaning in this?

Wh. Madame, Monday next is the first day of May, a great day in England; we call it May-day, when the gentlemen use to waite uppon their mistresses abroad, to bid the spring wellcome, and to have some collation or intertainment for them. Now, your majesty being my mistress, if you will doe me the honor, that, after the custome of
 England,

England, I may waite on you on May-day, and have a little treatment for you after the manner of England: this I call going into England, and shall take it as a very great favour from your majesty. 1654. ~
Aprill 29.

Qu. If this be your meaning of going into England, I shall be very willing, as your mistress, to goe with you on Monday next, and to see the english mode.

Lagerfeldt and the master of the ceremonies dining with Whitelocke, he inquired of them, what was to be done by him as to presents to any of the queen's servants or officers, who had done him respect in his buisnes, or being heer; and what other things were requisite to be done by him, according to the usage of ambassadors in this court before their going away, and when he might obtaine his audience to take his leave.

The master of the ceremonies gave him good and chargeable instructions, and Lagerfeldt agreed in most points with him; and, uppon Whitelocke's intreaty, undertooke to see that the letters of full power to the queen's commissioners, and the re-credentialls to Whitelocke, should be perfected and brought to him, and a day of audience appointed.

Lagerfeldt told Whitelocke, that the queen was willing to present him with some of this countrey commodities, as copper, to carry with him into England, if it would be as acceptable to him as other presents of diamonds and the like; and, he said, he hoped there was no order of the common-wealth of England to forbid the receiving of such presents by their publique ministers.

He

1654. He said, that formerly he asked of Monf. Chanut, the french ambassador heer, if he would accept a present of copper; and he willingly accepted it, and carryed it with him, saying, that he rather desired copper then diamonds or jewells, bicause he could better sell the copper then jewells, and make money of it.

April 29.

Whitelocke said, that whatsoever her majesty pleased to bestow on him, should be wellcom to him, and that he liked the commodities of this countrey as well as those of the Indies, and that for Chanut's reason.

He said, that the protector had not forbid him to receive any testimonies of the queen's respect to him, as she used to doe to all publique ministers; that the order of the common-wealth, forbidding gifts or presents to publique ministers, was not now in force; that he thought her majesty's bounty to him, and his justification of the acceptance of it, might be the more from such valuable presents, as her majesty had done him the honor to receive from him, and his intention to bestow all his horses upon her, and such as she would appoint, which, for the honor of the common-wealth, he would not sell.

30. Berkman and Monf. Bloome dined with Whitelocke, and took occasion to magnify the respects of the chancellor and his son Grave Eric to the protector, and to Whitelocke; who was not backward to joyne in those eulogies, and to acknowledge the respects. Berkman said, that Canterstein was to bring some writings to Whitelocke, and that Lagerfeldt had spoken to the queen to present Whitelocke with some copper; that she had given order for 200 ship-pownd of copper to be brought from the mines to Stockholme, to be putt aboard Whitelocke's ship, ready to be carryed away with

with him; that every ship-pownd was heer worth forty dol- 1654.
 lers, and was as much as 300 english pownd; which he cast ^{April 30.}
 up in the whole to the value of about 2500 l. sterling; and
 Whitelocke was satisfyed in his own conscience, that he
 might honorably receive it, having given to the queen as
 many presents already as were worth 1000 l. and ingaged
 to her his horses, which were worth above 2000 l. more;
 besides the guifts and gratuities which he had liberally
 given, and intended to give to the queen's servants and
 officers; and that, in recompence of above 3000 l. given
 away, he might well receive a present of the value of
 2500 l.

Grave Loenhough visited Whitelocke, and had much dis-
 course with him, not so proper for this day.

M A Y.

1654.

May 1.

LAGERFELDT, Berkman, and the syndick of Gothenbergh, after dinner with Whitelocke, discoursed and advised him touching his departure.

Lagerfeldt said, he believed the queen would give Whitelocke audience on Friday next; before which time her presents would not be ready for Whitelocke and his company: he said also, that he heard the prince intended to be in this town within a few dayes, and if it should be so, then it would be better for Whitelocke to stay heer, and expect his comming hither to salute him heer, then to goe out of his way so farre as to the prince's court; in which matter, Whitelocke said, he would intreat the queen's advice.

Lagerfeldt said further, that the queen had commaunded some copper to be brought to Stockholme, and to be putt aboard the ship where Whitelocke was to be imbarqued, or in some other ship as he should appoint; it being a present intended for him by the queen.

The syndick acquainted Whitelocke, that the citty of Gothenbergh would send into England, to prepare there for an accord concerning traffique between the english marchants and that town, wherein they hoped to have the assistance of Whitelocke att his returne to England; wherein he promised his advice and furtherance.

A danish

A danish gentleman of quality and experience gave a visit to Whitelocke, advised him the way of his journey, and gave him good information touching Denmarke, to be communicated to the protector; as that the English merchants might passe the Sundt, without paying any taxe, if the protector would insist upon it. Whitelocke, in drolery, asked him, why he would discover these things to a stranger, which turne so much to the prejudice of his owne countrey? He answered, that he did this to testify his respects to the protector; and that he did not betray his countrey, butt his countrey had betrayed him; and that was his countrey where he breathed, and had present nourishment.

1654.
May 1.

Monf. Woolfeldt visited Whitelocke, and, among other discourses, related to him the story of himselfe and his lady, which was to this effect, by his and other's relation.

This gentleman was of a noble family and extraction in Denmarke, grew into great favour with the last king, whose daughter, by a second wife, he marryed; and the present king, her brother, made him vice-roy of Norway, governor of the isle of Zeland, and of the Sundt, and a senator of the kingdome, and great master of Denmarke; and he had bin imployed thirteen times as an ambassador.

His lady, the daughter and sister of a king, was of excellent comelines of person and behaviour, humbly knowing her distance; of a sweet disposition, and of rare parts both of mind and body; especially deserving prayse for her high and entire affection to her husband, who, notwithstanding his great parts and abilities, and the many perils he had undergone in the service of his king and countrey, yett, after all, by the whisperings and false suggestions of

1654. back-biters, his ennemies, was traduced to the king, for
 being too much a friend to the peoples liberty, and an
 opposer of the king's absolute power: butt, beyond all (as
 some gave it out), that he was too familiar with one of the
 king's mistresses; so it was, that the king tooke high dis-
 pleasure against him. Parasites tooke the occasion to please
 the king, by invectives against one under a clowde; his
 parts attracted envy, and his merits were too great for any
 other recompence butt his owne ruine.

May 1.

To avoyd the king's wrath and his ennemies malice,
 and to preserve his life, which was aymed to be taken away
 with his fortune, he was compelled to flye from his coun-
 trey, and seeke his security in forein parts.

His lady, though a tender modest woman, though the
 sister of the king regnant, high in his favour, and the in-
 terest of her alliance; though pressingly inticed to cast off
 her affection to her husband; though unacquainted with
 any hardships; yett so intire was her conjugall love and
 piety, that, rather then part with her husband, she would
 leave all her relations and pleasures of a court, and her
 deare countrey, and putt herselfe (though with child) into
 the disguise of a page, to attend him in his flight as his
 servant.

It may be imagined, that such a servant was not un-
 kindly used; butt the greatest trouble was, that, being on
 ship-board to crosse the Baltick sea, the poore page whis-
 pered the master, that she had a longing desire to some
 cherries, which she saw in the towne as they came to the
 ship: heer was the difficulty, if her lord did not goe on
 shore and procure some cherries for the page, it might cost
 her life; if he did goe on shoare, and, in the meane time,
 the

the ship should goe off, he and his page would be parted, and his own life indaungered. It was reason and honor that perfwaded him, rather to hazard his own then such a page's life; therefore, having effectually dealt with the master of the ship for a little stay, he soon found out a pretence to goe on shore, and neglected not to hasten back againe with his provision of cherries, and to find out a way of distributing a large share of them to her that longed for them. After which, they happily sett sayle and arrived in Sweden, where, by articles between the two crownes, those in his condition have sanctuary and protection.

1654.

May 1.

In the afternoon Whitelocke went to court, where he mett with Canterstein, who excused himselfe, that he had not yett brought to Whitelocke the queen's letters of full power to her commissioners, which, he said, the queen had signed two dayes before, and that he had bin sicke, otherwise he had delivered them before this time. Whitelocke asked him, if his re-credentialls were prepared? he said, they were ready for the queen to signe when she pleased, and that nothing in his charge concerning Whitelocke should receive any delay by his occasion. Whitelocke gave him thanks for his care, and promised his remuneration.

This being May-day, Whitelocke, according to the invitation he had made to the queen, putt her in mind of it, that, as she was his mistress, and this May-day, he was, by the custome of England, to waite upon her to take the aier, and to treat her with some little collation, as her servant.

The queen said, the weather was very cold, yett she was very willing to beare him company after the english mode.

With

1654.

May 1.

With the queen were Woolfeldt, Tott, and five of her ladyes. Whitelocke brought them to his collation, which he had commanded his servants to prepare in the best manner they could, and altogether after the english fashion.

Att the table with the queen fate La Belle Comtesse, the countesse Gabriel Oxenstierne, Woolfeldt, Tott, and Whitelocke; the other ladyes fate in another roome. Their meate was such fowle as could be gotten, dressed after the english fashion, and with english sawces, creames, puddings, custards, tarts, tansies, english apples, bon chrétien peares, cheese, butter, neats tounes, potted venison, and sweet meats, brought out of England, as his sacke and claret also was; his beere was also brewed, and his bread made by his own servants in his house, after the english manner; and the queen and her company seemed highly pleased with this treatment: some of her company said, she did eate and drinke more att it then she used to doe in three or four dayes att her own table.

The intertainment was as full and noble as the place would afford, and as Whitelocke could make it, and so well ordered and contrived, that the queen said, she had never seen any like it: she was pleased so farre to play the good hufwife, as to inquire, how the butter could be so fresh and sweet and yett brought out of England? Whitelocke, from his cookes, satisfied her majesty's inquiry; that they putt the salt butter into milke, where it lay all night, and the next day it would eate fresh and sweet as this did, and any butter new made; and commended her majesty's good hufwifry; who, to expresse her contentment in this collation, was full of pleasantnes and gaity of spirit, both in supper-time and afterwards: among other frolickes, she commaunded Whitelocke to teach her ladyes the english salutation,

lutation; which, after some pretty defences, their lips obeyed, and Whitelocke most readily.

1654.

May 1.

She highly commended Whitelocke's musicke of the trumpets, which sounded all supper time, and her discourse was all of mirth and drollery, wherin Whitelocke indeavoured to answer her; and the rest of the company did their parts.

It was late before she returned to the castle, whither Whitelocke waited on her; and she discoursed a little with him about his buisnes, and the time of his audience, and gave him many thanks for his noble treatment of her and her company.

Whitelocke sent to the master of the ceremonies to know if he had desired a time for his last audience, who promised to doe it. 2.

Canterstein brought to Whitelocke the queen's letters of full power to her commissioners, under her hand, and the great seale of Sweden, which were of this tenor*.

* See appendix R.

Having received this commission, Whitelocke delivered to Canterstein his commission under the great seale of England, and the copy of his new instructions from the protector, except what was secret in them.

Canterstien, the master of the ceremonies, and Monf. Bloome, were frolick att dinner with Whitelocke, and made many caresses to him, and extolled the chancellor's care and high respect to Whitelocke, in bringing his treaty to so good an issue; and after dinner Bloome told Whitelocke, that the chancellor had advised the queen to make a noble

1654. noble present to Whitelocke, which was not yett ready, and
 May 2. that had retarded his last audience.

The master of the ceremonies, from the queen, desired Whitelocke to have a little patience for a few dayes; that she expected the arrivall of the prince within six or seven dayes in this towne, by which meanes Whitelocke would have a fayre opportunity to salute him heer, without further trouble; and that the queen would give him audience within two dayes before the arrivall of the prince, and so he should receive no disturbance in his voyage. Whitelocke saw no other remedy for this butt patience.

3. Whitelocke visited Grave Eric; they fell into discourse, among other things, touching Guinee, to this effect:

Wh. It is requisite that we come to some conclusion about the buisnes of Guinee.

Eric. I thinke it fitt; and, for your further information, heer is the answear in writing of the Swedes, who are concerned therin, unto the complaints of the english company in that buisnes.

Wh. Will you leave the writing with me?

Eric. I shall send you a copy of it.

Wh. The complaints of the english have bin proved by depositions of wittnesses.

Eric. Those depositions were taken in the absence of the other party; and, if you please, wittnesses may be produced heer on the part of the Swedes.

Wh. Wittnesſes produced heer will be alſo in the abſence of the other party, though I had leiſure and commiſſion to examine them on oath. 1654.
May 3.

Eric. You may ſee, in this map of Guinee, how the plantations of the Swedes, Engliſh, and Hollanders doe lye, and are mingled, and neer to one another.

Wh. The king of that place made a graunt to the Engliſh, for them only to dwell and traffique in that countrey; and the Swedes afterwards drove the Engliſh, by force, out of their fortifications.

Eric. The Engliſh had no fortifications there; all the fort they had was a little lodge, with two roomes only in it, out of which the Swedes did not force them: and both the Hollanders and Swedes were planted in this place, before any graunt made to the Engliſh; and the Swedes had a graunt from the ſame king, wherof this is a copy.

Wh. It will be materiall to compare the dates of theſe two graunts: if that to the Engliſh was firſt, then the other to the Swedes was of no validity; and the like of the contrary. If you will favour me with a copy of the graunt made to the Swedes, I will compare it with that made to the Engliſh, and returne it to you.

Eric. You ſhall commaund it.

Monſ. Woolfeldt, being viſited by Whitelocke, told him, that the queen was extreamly pleaſed with his treatment of her: Whitelocke excuſed the meanes of it for her majeſty; Woolfeldt replyed, that both the queen and all the company eſteemed it as the haſomeſt and nobleſt that they

1654. ever saw; and the queen, after that, would drinke no
 May 3. other wine butt Whitelocke's, and kindly accepted the neats
 touniges, potted venison, and other cakes, which, uppon
 her commendation of them, Whitelocke sent unto her ma-
 jesty.

Woolfeldt showed a paper of consequence, written by
 himselfe in spanish; and he read it in french to Whitelocke,
 being perfect in those and other languages: he said, that
 whatsoever he wrote, he did it in a forein language, to
 continue the exercise of them; the paper showed how the
 English might be freed from paying tolles att the Sundt.
 Whitelocke intreated a copy of this paper in french, which
 Woolfeldt promised.

A great quantity of snow fell, and covered the houses
 and fields, and was hard frozen; a matter att this time
 strange to the english, butt ordinary heer.

4. Mr. Boteler, a Scottsman, confidently reported great
 newes to the disparagement of the affayres of England, that
 the Highlanders of Scotland had given a great defeate to
 the English, and killed 500 of them; which newes was soon
 confuted by Whitelocke.

The senator Vanderlin, and his brother the master of the
 ceremonies, doctor Loccennius, a civilian, keeper of the
 library in this university, another gentleman, professor of
 eloquence heer, Mr. Ravius, professor of the easterne
 touniges, and a french gentleman, captain of one of the
 companies of guards, doing Whitelocke the honor to dine
 with him, had very learned discourse, perticularly of lan-
 guages, and of the affinity between the swedish, english,
 danish, and high dutch touniges; wherof they gave many
 instances,

instances, and Whitelocke was able to adde to them: the professors discoursed only in latin, as most proper for them, the others in french; and they hold it a discourtesy, if a man be not answered in the same language which he speaks. They also extolled the prince and the protector; and the senator said, that there was not any person who came so neer to the eminency and grandeur of the protector, as the prince of Sweden did.

1654.
May 4.

The company being gone, Whitelocke went to the accustomed place, the great wood, to take the aier; and as he was walking in the broad way there, he perceived the coach of the dutch resident coming towards him; and perceiving the english ambassador to be walking there, the resident alighted out of his coach, and came on foot towards Whitelocke: whither he came after Whitelocke in a handsome designe or contrivance for their first salutation, or that it was by accident, Whitelocke did not examine, but thought fitt to answer the civility of the resident, by walking back towards him to meet him.

They saluted each other, and their company, with great respect. The resident began the complement to Whitelocke in french, telling him, that he was very glad of the opportunity to have the happiness to salute Whitelocke, which he would not neglect to doe, perceiving him in this place; and that he would take the first occasion to doe himselfe the honor to visit Whitelocke at his house.

Whitelocke answered, that the resident should be very welcome when he pleased to doe that honor to Whitelocke, as to bestow a visit on him; and that he was also very glad of the opportunity which had now presented itselfe, wher-

1654. by he had the contentment of being acquainted with the
 resident.
 May 4.

They fell into generall discourfes, and, among the reft, of the conclufion and ratification of the treaty between the two common-wealths, and of the advantage which thereby would arife to both of them, and to the protestant party.

As they were walking together the queen paffed by them, being in that wood alfo to take the aier: when ſhe came neer, ſhe ſaluted them with great reſpect, and ſpake to them alowde, *Je ſuis ravie de vous voir enſemble, Je voi que la paix eſt faite; I am raviſhed to ſee you two together, I ſee the peace is made.* And ſo the queen went on her way, and Whitelocke tooke leave of the reſident.

Att his returne to his houſe, Whitelocke found his packet from England ready to intertaine him, and Thurloe's letter was this:

“ MY LORD,

“ Your letter of the 10th of March arrived heer this
 “ morning, wherby you are pleaſed to give a very perti-
 “ cular and exact account of all proceedings in this treaty
 “ you are uppon; I preſently communicated the contents
 “ therof to his highnes and the councill, with whom he
 “ was willing to adviſe, and theruppon he was pleaſed to
 “ ſend you the inſtructions which your excellence will re-
 “ ceive heerwith, which are fully agreeable to your own
 “ deſire in that behalfe: the former inſtructions had come
 “ ſooner, if the iſſue of the dutch treaty had bin ſooner
 “ knowne; now, through the bleſſing of God, it is fully
 “ concluded, and your excellence will receive heerwith the
 “ articles,

“ articles, as they are signed by the commissioners of his
 “ highnes, and the lords ambassadors of the united pro-
 “ vinces. They signed them uppon Wednesday att night,
 “ and the next morning the ambassadors sent them away
 “ to be ratified by their superiors, which they will doe
 “ without difficulty or scruple, as we believe.

1654.

May 4.

“ Your excellence will see, by those articles made with
 “ the Dutch, that the second and fifth article is omitted
 “ out of your instructions; that these two treatyes will very
 “ well stand together, and for the notice to be given to the
 “ Dutch, it is cleer to me, that it will not be necessary, in
 “ respect that this treaty was not only begun, butt as good
 “ as finished before the conclusion with the Dutch.

“ And, for the fourth article, and the proviso your ex-
 “ cellence is pleased to send, that being so cleerly within
 “ the substance of your former instructions, I thought it
 “ needles to adde any instruction about it now.

“ His highnes, in the beginning of this week, was pleas-
 “ ed to send for the great seale, and kept it in his own
 “ custody two dayes, and now hath disposed it unto your
 “ excellence, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and your confrater
 “ my lord L'Isle. His highnes is very much resolved
 “ uppon a good and solid reformation of the law, and pro-
 “ ceedings in the courts of equity and lawes: the matter
 “ of law he hath committed unto Mr. Justice Hale, and
 “ Mr. John Vaughan; the reformation of the chancery to
 “ my lord Widdrington, Mr. Attorney Generall, and Mr.
 “ Chute; being resolved to give the learned of the robe
 “ the honor of reforming their own profession, and hopes
 “ that God will give them hearts to doe it; and, that no
 “ time may be lost, the next terme is adjourned.

“ The

1654. " The french ambaffador defires very much to gett a
 May 4. " difpatch of his buifnes : his highnes hath att length ap-
 " pointed him commissioners to treat, butt no progresse
 " hath bin yett made theruppon ; the fpeech, that he made
 " att his first audience, your excellency will receive by
 " this.

" The Portugall preffeth much now to come to an agree-
 " ment alfo, and to close the treaty which hath hanged fo
 " long ; and fo doth the Spanyard.

" I pray for your excellency's fafe returne home, and
 " reft

" Your excellency's humble fervant,

Aprill 7th, 1654.

" JO. THURLOE."

Whitelocke's new instructions from the protector.

O. P.

Additional instructions to my lord Whitelocke, our ambaf-
 fador extraordinary to her majesty the queen of Sweden.

" Having confidered the perticular account you have
 given by your letters weekly of your negotiation in Sweden,
 and the delay which hath bin on the part of that court in
 the treaty you are uppon ; we might well have given you
 positive orders for your speedy returne.

" Butt obferving, that the letters and difpatches between
 this and Sweden are a moneth in their way, and not know-
 ing how affayres may alter in that time with you ; and the
 pretence of their delay, to witt, the incertainty of the issue
 of

of the treaty between us and the united provinces, being removed, as you will see by these letters, which will assure you of the full conclusion therof; we have thought it more convenient to leave you a latitude in that perticular, and to give you liberty (as we doe heerby) to retorne home att such time, as you shall find it for the service of the common-wealth.

1654.
May 4.

“ 2. Wheras, by your letter of the 10th of March 1654, you have represented the perticular debates which you have had uppon all the articles of the treaty, and the exceptions taken by the queen uppon the second, fifth, and seventh articles, you are heerby authoris'd to omit the second and fifth articles out of the treaty, as also the words bona a fuis cujusq; inimicis direpta out of the seventh article, if the queen shall still insist theruppon; and as for the comprehending the Dutch in this treaty with the queen of Sweden, notice shall be given from hence, if it shall be found necessary..

“ 3. You have heerby power to agree with the queen of Sweden, that she and her subjects may fish freely for herrings in the seas of this common-wealth, paying the recognition of the tenth herring, or for a lesser recognition, so as it be not lesse then the twentieth herring, or the value therof in money.

Whitehall, 7th Aprill, 1654.”

The order of the councell touching the great seale, sent by Thurloe, was this.

The title of the order was thus :

Order

1654. Order of the councell approving of the commissioners of the
great seale.

May 4.

Tuesday, 4th of Aprill, 1654.

“ Att the councell att Whitehall.

“ Resolved, That the councell doth approve of the lord ambaffador Whitelocke to be one of the lords commissioners of the great seale.

“ Resolved, That the councell doth approve of Sir Thomas Widdrington, knight, fergeant att law, to be one of the lords commissioners of the great seale.

“ Resolved, That the councell doth approve of John L'Isle, esquire, to be one of the lords commissioners of the great seale.

“ By the commaund of his highnes, Mr. Sergeant Widdrington and Mr. L'Isle were called in, and being come to the table, his highnes declared, that the lord ambaffador Whitelocke, and themselves, had bin nominated by his highnes, and approved by the councell, to be commissioners for the great seale; and his highnes did deliver unto the said Mr. Sergeant Widdrington, and Mr. L'Isle, the said great seale: and then the oath, appointed by the ordinance, was read by the clerke of the councell, and was taken by each of them.

Ex^r. W^m. Jessop, clerk of the councell.”

The Guinee company sent by this pacquet a letter to Whitelocke of thanks for his care of their buisnes, and
that

that they could not buy the Swedes interest in Guinee, 1654.
and referred the whole matter wholly to Whitelocke.

May 4.

The examinations in the court of admiralty touching the ship Charity, inclosed in Thurloe's letters, made it appear, that the Swedes had not injury done them as they complained, and that the goods belonged to Hollanders, and not to the Swedes; butt only coloured by the Hollanders under the name of Swedish ship and goods, though they were not so.

Whitelocke made use of these examinations as he saw cause, and found that Martin Thyfen had an interest in these goods.

The inclosed speech of the french ambassador to the protector was full of complement, giving him the title of serene Alteſſe, and as much as could be well offered by the french, ſeeming to deſire a league and amity with the protector.

The ambassador was received with great ſtate and ſolemnity, anſwearable to the honor of his maſter the king of France, with whom the protector had a good mind to cloſe att this time, the rather to fruſtrate the hopes of the king of Scotts of aſſiſtance from thence, where he was now entertained, careſſed, and made believe he ſhould have all aid and furtherance for his reſtitution, which the protector fought to prevent, by the intereſt of the cardinall Mazarin, whoſe creature this ambassador was.

Lagerfeldt acquainted Whitelocke, that the queen intended to gratify him with a guiſt of as great value as had bin beſtowed uppon any ambassador before; and that ſhe having

5.

1654. received from Whitelocke many brave horses and many native goods of England; and Whitelocke having undertaken,
 May 5. att his returne to England, to provide for her majesty severall other commodities, she held it reasonable to requite him with some commodities of this countrey, if Whitelocke thought fitt to accept of them.

Whitelocke answered, that it did not become him to prescribe bounds to her majesty's favour, butt wholly to referre himself to the queen's judgement heerin. Lagerfeldt replied, that the queen intended to bestow her guift uppon him in copper, and gave order that it should be putt aboard a ship, to be consigned by him to some of his friends att London, or as he pleased to dispose it.

Whitelocke desired of Lagerfeldt, that although the articles were signed, that yett he in the instrument might præfixe to the title these words, serenissimi ac celsissimi domini, which words Whitelocke did observe to be in the protector's title to the dutch articles, which was not known to Whitelocke before the articles were signed heer. Lagerfeldt promised to acquaint the chancellor heerwith, and to bring his answer.

Whitelocke waited uppon the queen, and acquainted her with his newes from England, and of the consummation of the treaty of peace between England and the Dutch, wherof she said she was very glad, and thanked Whitelocke for his newes.

He then intreated her majesty to appoint a day for his audience to take his leave of her majesty, which she told him should be shortly done; then she desired his company with her in her coach to take the aier: he waited on her,
 and.

and besides, there was in the coach, Grave Tot, Grave Van ^{1654.}
done, and the countesse Christina Oxenstierne.

May 5.

The queen was not very pleasant, butt intertained some little discourfes, not much of buifnes; and, after a short tour, returning to the caſtle, retired into her chamber, and Whitelocke to his lodging.

Lagerfeldt returned anſwear to Whitelocke of his motion 6.
to infer the words *ſereniſſimi ac celfiſſimi domini* into the protector's title, that he had acquainted the chancellor with it, who alſo had communicated it to her majeſty, and ſhe willingly aſſented therunto; and it was infered accordingly.

He brought with him Monſieur Carloe, governor of the ſwedifh company for Guinee, with whom Whitelocke had much diſcourſe uppon the ſame points as he had before with Grave Eric; and Carlo denyed all that the english marchants had affirmed, and he continued before and after dinner very obſtinate in it.

Secretary Canterſtein brought to Whitelocke the queen's letters of the graunt of 200 ſhip-pownd of copper, for a preſent to him, which letters were thus*.

* See appendix S.

In the afternoone the maſter of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke's houſe, and preſented to him, from the queen, a hanſome jewell; which was a caſe of gold, fayrly ennamelled, and having in the middeſt of it the picture of the queen, done to the life, and very like her: it was ſett round about with twelve large diamonds, and ſeverall ſmalle diamonds between the great ones. He told Whitelocke, that, by commaund of her majeſty, he preſented her picture to him; that ſhe was ſorry it was not made up ſo, as might

1654. have bin worthy of his reception ; butt she desired, if he
 May 6. pleased, that he would doe her the honor to weare it for her
 sake, and to accept the picture in memory of the friend that
 sent it.

Whitelocke answered, that the queen was pleased to bestow a great honor upon him in this noble testimony of her favour to him, of which he acknowledged himselfe altogether unworthy ; but her majesty's opinion was otherwise, as appeared by such a present as this : he did with all thankfulness accept it, and should with great contentment give himselfe occasion, by the honor of wearing it, to remember the more often her majesty and her favours to him, her servant ; for which he desired the master to present his humble thanks unto her majesty.

After he had bin with Whitelocke, the master went to Whitelocke's two sons, and in the queen's name presented to each of them a chayne of gold of five linkes, and att the end of the chaine a medall of gold of the queen's picture ; the chaynes and medalls were valued att 400 ducketts a-piece.

Then he presented in the queen's name to collonell Potley, to Dr. Whistler, to captain Beake, and Mr. Earle, to each of them a chayne of gold of four linkes, and att the end of each chayne, a medall of gold of the queen's picture ; these chaynes and medalls were valued att 200 ducketts a-piece, or therabouts.

Then he presented in the queen's name to Mr. Stapleton, Mr. Ingelo, and Mr. de la Marche, to each of them a chayne of gold of three linkes, with a medall of gold of the queen's picture

picture att the end of each chayne ; the chaynes and medalls were valued att about 160 ducketts a-piece.

1654.

May 6.

To Mr. Walker he presented a chayne and medall of gold of three linkes, shorter then the rest, of about the value of 130 ducketts ; to captain Crispe, and to Mr. Swift, to each of them a chayne of gold of two linkes, with a medall of gold to each of them, of about the value 100 ducketts a-piece.

Walker the steward, and Stapleton, gentleman of the horse to Whitelocke, were discontented, bicause their chaynes were not of four linkes a-piece ; and they and others tooke exceptions bicause their chaynes were not so good and valuable as those given to Potley and Beake ; so seditious a thing is gold : butt Whitelocke indeavoured to fatisfy them, by the reasons why the chaynes of Potley and Beake were better then theirs ; the one having bin an antient servant of this crowne, and the other being commaunder of the guards of the protector ; and nothing was due to them, butt only the queen's free guift and bountey was in all of them, and, therefore, not to be excepted against by any of them. Notwithstanding this admonition, they mett and discourfed together in discontent about this buisnes, and gave therby occasion of displeasure to Whitelocke.

Whitelocke being in the mood to take the aier, the holland resident came thither, where they walked and discourfed together ; and, in their returne, the resident and two of his gentlemen, Vorstius, and another, went in Whitelocke's coach, who brought the resident to his lodging, and there had a civill treatment, and found by discourse, that the resident was not well fatisfyed with his being in this court.

Whitelocke

1654. Whitelocke did not hitherto make a visit to any person since he had received his presents from the queen, after which, in ceremonie, he must first visit her majesty to give her thanks, and then he is at liberty to visit others.

May 6.

7. The *Lord's day*. Monsieur Bloome, and Mr. de Geeres, the rich marchant of Sweden, after dinner with Whitelocke, discoursed much about matters not so proper for the day.

Walker and Stapleton attending Whitelocke, and walking in the evening, he againe spake to them about their presents as formerly; butt found Stapleton stiffe in his opinion, and to intend to send backe his present to the master of the ceremonies, as refusing it: butt Whitelocke required him not to doe so, lest it should be taken as an affront to Whitelocke and to the protector himselfe, as well as a disdain of the queen's present, which was her majesty's free gift without any obligation.

8. The warrant, formerly inserted, was sent to the officers of the treasury, who theruppon made their order to the under officers, for the delivery of the copper accordingly, which order was brought to Whitelocke in the swedish language.

Eftarsom hd. kongs maijy waratternadigste drotnings nadigste wittieoch befallningh ahr, &c.

Which was to require the delivery of the 200 slip-pownd of copper according to the queen's letters of graunt, &c.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke to informe him, that the queen had appointed Wednesday next, the 10th of this moneth, for his last audience to take his leave: Whitelocke said, he was sorry it could not be sooner; the
master

master excused it, by reason of the great affayres of the
queen uppon the meeting of the ricksdagh.

1654.

May 8.

Grave Eric and Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, and debated with him the buisnes of Guinee.

Eric. I shall reade to you this paper, which is in latin and in french; an answear to the complaints of the English, and denyes all their allegations.

Wh. The allegations of the english are proved by oath; heer are the depositions.

Eric. The answears of the Swedes are uppon oath likewise.

Wh. Butt the English are in the affirmative.

Eric. The Swedes have like complaints against the English, which are to be proved by oath in the affirmative also; and in such case the parties, or their procurators, must appear before the ordinary and competent judges, which will require a great deale of time: butt we being to treat with you as an ambassador, we propose, that there may be an abolition of all past injuries of the one side and the other, and that there may be an agreement, and friendship, and free trade there for the future.

Wh. This will be very proper for the time to come; butt it will be no satisfaction for the injuries already done. I have no power from the protector, or company of english marchants, to make any such agreement; butt for what concerns the publique, I can make an accord with you, and
the

1654. the satisfaction of damages, for wrongs past, may be remitted
 May 8. to the determination of commissioners.

Eric. I shall shew you a project in writing, that all the houses and possessions of the one part and the other may continue in the same estate for the time to come, as they are in att present.

Wh. To agree this, were to give up the right of the english marchants, and to acknowledge that they have no cause of complaint; wheras I demaund in justice a reparation and satisfaction for those injuries, wherof they complaine.

Eric. Then the buisnes must be decided before the judges, witnesses on both sides must be heard, and we must insist uppon it, that the houses and possessions continue in the same estate as they now are.

Wh. You must pardon me that I cannot assent heerunto.

Thus their debate broke off.

Monsieur Ravius came to Whitelocke in the name of the bishop of Stregnes, to acquaint him, that if he had any english horses which he would bestow uppon the prince, that they would be very acceptable to him, and that Whitelocke would very much gratify himselfe therby. Whitelocke said, that his saddle horses were not worth the presenting to his royall highness, the best of them being already given away; butt he had a sett of coach horses, which he intended to reserve and to present unto the prince, if he pleased to accept them. Ravius said, they would be very acceptable to him.

The

The king of Denmarke being included in the treaty between England and the Dutch, and so become a friend, Whitelocke was advised to send first a complement to the danish ambassador now residing in this court; which, when Whitelocke doubted, lest thereby he might diminish the honor of England by sending to the Dane, before the Dane had first sent to him, the master of the ceremonies and others instructed him, that it was the constant custome, for the ambassador that comes last, to send first a complement to him that had bin in the court before; wheruppon Whitelocke did send one of his gentlemen to the danish ambassador to visit and complement him.

1654.

May 9.

Now the secretary of the ambassador of Denmarke came to Whitelocke, in the name of his lord, to give him thanks for the honor he had done him in sending one of his servants to salute him, and to congratulate the good newes of the agreement between England and the Dutch, wherein the king his master was comprised. The secretary said, that the confirmation thereof was also come to his lord by the way of Holland and of Denmarke, for which newes his lordship was very joyfull, and would himselfe have given a visit to Whitelocke, butt that his want of health detained him in his lodging.

Whitelocke told the secretary, that he was very sorry for his lord's indisposition of health, and wished his good recovery; that he was heartily glad of the newes, which gave him occasion to send to his lord to congratulate with him, and that he would take an opportunity to visit him in person, when it might be without prejudice to his excellence's health.

Berkman came to Whitelocke to give him an account of a message, wherein he had imployed Berkman to the mareschall

1654. Wrangell, to desire him in Whitelocke's name, that the ship,
May 9. appointed to transport him, might fall downe from Stock-
holm to the Dollars, for Whitelocke to come on board her
there, which would save him 100 miles by sea from Stock-
holm thither; there being a neerer way by a third part from
Stockholm to the Dollars for boates to passe. Berkman said,
he found Wrangell very civill and ready to doe what White-
locke should desire of him for his accomodation, and that he
had ordered the ship forthwith to fall down to the Dollers; for
which Whitelocke desired Monsieur Berkman to returne his
thankes to the mareschall.

The ricks admirall sent to Whitelocke, expressing much
civility and readines to serve him, and desired to know if
one ship would be sufficient for his transportation; that, if he
pleased, there should be more provided for him.

Whitelocke returned thankes, and that he hoped he should
not have occasion to putt them to the trouble of more ships
for his transportation then that already ordered for him.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke, by the
queen's commaund, to know if he and his company pleased
to see the meeting of the ricksdagh; that he had provided a
place for that purpose, where they might be unknowne and
unseen, and yett see all the ceremonie, and heare all the
harangues; that if Whitelocke would see it, the master
would call him att eight a'clocke in the morning, and waite
uppon him to the place: butt that he said, that the danish
ambassador had some thoughts of being there also; and if
he came first to the place, he would take the uppermost
seate. Whitelocke then desired the master to call him early
enough, that he might be there first, bicause he should hardly
permit the danish ambassador to sitt above him.

The

The master said he would be sure to call Whitelocke early enough; butt he believed that the danish ambaffador would not be there, bicaufe of his ill health. 1654.
May 9.

The master told Whitelocke, that Monsieur Bloome had informed him, that some of Whitelocke's gentlemen tooke exceptions to the presents sent them by the queen. He protested, uppon his soul and his honor, that he had no hand in the disposing of these presents, butt that all was done by the officers of the chamber of accounts, and that the queen did not meddle with it; butt when he showed her a catalogue of the officers of Whitelocke's house, she marked them how she would have the presents bestowed: that, how the matter might be altered afterwards, he was wholly ignorant, and that he had order under the hands of the officers to make the distribution as he had done; and he hoped none of the gentlemen would be offended with him, who had done nothing butt as he was ordered by those over him. Whitelocke told him, that, in so great a family as his was, it would be difficult to please every one; that these presents were the queen's favours, which she might distribute as she pleased, and every one ought to be contented therewith; that some of his company had discoursed heerof more than belonged to them; butt that he would take order in it himselfe.

They had also this further discourse.

Wh. Doe you expect the arrivall of the prince heer on Friday next?

Mr. The queen is not assured of his arrivall that day, butt she will goe out on horseback, accompanied with all her nobility, to meet him.

1654. *Wh.* Will it be expected that I goe out likewise to meet
 him?
 Aprill 29.

Mr. That cannot be, bicause it will be after your last audience, and when you have taken your leave of the queen; so that you cannot then appear in publique, nor in any publique action, bicause it will be to present yourselfe before those, of whom you had taken your leave before.

Wh. Butt after my last audience I may in private see the queen?

Mr. Yes, for that is butt a perticular visit; and so you may visit any of your friends after your last audience.

Wh. I intend likewise to salute the prince after my last audience.

Mr. You may doe it, bicause it will be butt a perticular visit.

Wh. I hope his royall highnes will treat me with the same civility and respect as he useth to any other ambaffador.

Mr. That he will infallibly doe. Monsieur Chanut, the french ambaffador, when he was in this court, did alwayes give the right hand to the prince, after the proposall had bin made of declaring him prince heretier of the crowne, though the ricksdagh had not then confirmed it: butt Chanut made difficulty of it at the prince's lodging, bicause he was not the son of a king; yett afterwards he did it both there and elsewhere.

Wh.

Wh. There is more reason for me now to doe it, bicause 1654.
 the propofall is to be made of investing him with the crown. ~~~~~
 What was the manner of the prince's reception of Chanut, May 9.
 where did he meet Chanut att his coming, and how farre did
 he goe with him att his taking leave?

Mr. The prince received Chanut att the doore of the
 chamber where he had his audience; and, when the ambaf-
 fador went away, the prince brought him to the fame place,
 and no farther; and, I believe he will give the fame respect
 to your excellence, and as much to you as to any publique
 minister.

Wh. I can desire no more.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, and acquainted him, that 10.
 there was a speciall article to be agreed uppon touching the
 buifnes of Guinee, which the queen and the chancellor were
 willing might proceed for the dispatch of Whitelocke, and
 that Grave Eric would have come to him about it, butt that
 he was ill and had taken phyfick. He told Whitelocke,
 that the queen faid, he might have his laft audience that
 day if he pleased; butt if he would be present att the fo-
 lemnity of the nuptialls, which were this evening to be ce-
 lebrated att court between the baron Horne and the lady
 Sparre, and if he desired to fee the affembling of the ricksdagh
 to-morrow, then it would be requifite to deferre his audience
 till Friday; bicaufe, when he had taken his leave of the
 queen, it would not be proper for him afterwards to appear
 in publique. Whitelocke faid, he had rather be difmiffed
 then to be present att any folemnities; that her majesty had
 taken him captive by her noble presents, fo that it was not
 fitt for him to come abroad in publique: he asked Lager-
 feldt, if the prince would be heer on Friday next, if fo,
 then

1654. then it would not be convenient to have his audience putt
off to that day. Lagerfeldt said, he doubted that the prince
May 10. would not be heer so soone.

An officer on horsebacke, accompanied with severall other horsemen, with four kettle drummes and eight or ten trumpets, beating and sounding before them, made proclamation in severall parts of the town, that all persons, who were summoned to appeare att the ricksdagh, should give their attendance, att the place appointed in the queen's castle of Upsale, to-morrow by eight a'clocke in the morning, uppon payne of halfe a dollar mulct for every default.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke from the queen, and acquainted him to the same effect as Lagerfeldt had done, touching his last audience.

The master also, by the queen's commaund, invited Whitelocke to the wedding att court this night; and if he pleased to see the manner of the assembling of the ricksdagh, that he had order to take the care of it; and that it would be no hinderance to his going away, bicause the prince did not come hither till Tuesday next.

Whitelocke said, he was sorry that the prince would come no sooner to this place; butt since it was the pleasure of the queen, that he should waite uppon her this evening, he would obey her commaunds; and as to the time of his audience, he submitted to her pleasure.

The ricks admirall sent agayne to Whitelocke, to know if he would have any more ships provided for his transportation. Whitelocke returned his thanks, and that he in-

tended not to take any of his horses with him, and therefore ^{1654.}
should not need any more ships then were already ordered. May 10.

Studely, one of Whitelocke's servants, returned to him from Stockholme, with an account, that the ship appointed for his transportation was not yett ready, which retarded his voyage to his trouble.

Between ten and eleven a'clocke att night, the master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke's house, with one of the queen's coaches, to bring him to the wedding att court. He desired Whitelocke's two sons to goe into that coach, who excused themselves, that they had not bin in that coach formerly: the master said, that when one went to an audience, there were certain formalities to be observed, butt going to a wedding was another thing; that now the queen had sent her coach for Whitelocke as her guest, and it was proper for his sons to goe with him. Whitelocke wished them to observe the direction of the master, who governed in these things.

They went to the bridegroome's house, where were many of his friends; his uncle, the ricks admirall, mareschall Wrangell, and other senators and noblemen. As soon as Whitelocke alighted out of the coach, the bridegroome's brother was there to receive him, and bid him welcome: neer the doore the bridegroome mett him, and gave him thanks for the favour, in honoring his wedding with his presence.

Whitelocke said, he was very ready to testify his respects to the nobility of this countrey, and perticularly to himselfe, and tooke it for an honor to be invited into such company.

Whitelocke

1654. Whitelocke was instructed by the master of the ceremonies,
May 10. that, by the custome of this countrey, the bridegroom takes
place of the king, and the bride of the queen, during the
solemnities of the wedding: accordingly Whitelocke gave
the right hand to the bridegroom.

After a little discourse, they tooke their coaches, first the
gentlemen, then the lords, then the senators, then the ricks
admirall, and senator Bundt, who being next of kinne,
was to give the bride in marryage: after Bundt went White-
locke, and after him the bridegroom, who had precedence
in the queen's coach, which went last, and Whitelocke next
before it, and the other coaches in their order; the bride-
groom's coach last of all, as the best place. The like order
they observed in their going in the castle.

Att the head of the stayres, the master of the ceremonies
mett them, and brought them to the presence chamber, where
the queen was with the bride, and a great company of
gallant ladies: the bridegroom kissed her majesty's hand,
and then the bride's hand; the rest of the company did the
like.

Between the queen and Whitelocke passed a little dis-
course.

Wh. Madame, I give you humble thanks for your invi-
tation of me to these solemnities.

Qu. It is an honor to us, that such an ambassador will be
present att our ceremonies.

Wh.

Wh. I likewise returne my most humble thanks to your majesty for your many favours, and the noble presents you have bin pleased to bestow on me, and on my company. 1654.
May 10.

Qu. Sir, you mock me; I am troubled I could not doe according to that respect which I beare you: this is only a custome of our countrey to persons of your condition, and I hope you will take it in good part.

Wh. It is more fuitable to your majesty's bountey, then to any thing I can call desert in me, who have a most gratefull sence and acceptance of your majesty's favours.

The bride and bridegroome were both clothed in white tabby; his suit laced with a very broade gold and silver lace: the bride had on her head a coronet sett full of diamonds, with a diamond collar about her necke and shoulders, a diamond girdle of the same fashion, and a rich diamond jewell att her breast; which were all of them of great value, and by some reported to be the queen's jewells, lent by her to the bride for that time.

They went all to the great hall; first the noblemen, then the senators, then the bridegroome between Bundt and Whitelocke, then the bride between two Graves, then the queen and her guards.

Then the queen presently tooke her chayre of state; att her right hand, att a little distance, sate the bride against her; att the queen's left hand sate the bridegroome, next to him Whitelocke, and then Bundt.

1654. After they were all sate, Bundt rose up and went towards
 the queen, and spake in swedish with a lowde voice, to this
 May 10. effect, as it was interpreted to Whitelocke.

That baron Horne, a gentleman there present, of an antient and noble family, desired to have in marryage a lady, who was servant to her majesty, of the antient and noble family of the Sparres; then he spake much of the pedigrees, and in the prayse of both the families: after that, he addressed himselfe to the bride and bridegroom, giving them good counsell, as to the condition which they were entering into, and their demeanor to one another. Then some friends ledde the bridegroom to a place in the midst of the hall purposely rayled in, and then they fetched the bride thither also, and placed her by the bridegroom; then a grave churchman, one of the queen's chapleins, turning himselfe to the queen, pronounced the words of marryage after a forme in a booke, which he read; and being interpreted to Whitelocke, he found it the same in effect with the words of marryage in the english liturgy. The ceremonie of joyning them in marryage being ended, two graves, with torches, came to the bridegroom and bride, and ledde them a rownd; two other lords with torches followed after them; many ladyes, two by two: the bride being brought to her seate by the bridegroom, he then tooke the queen by the hand, and they walked between the torches; then the bride came and tooke Whitelocke by the hand, and they walked after the queen. Whitelocke brought the bride agayne to her place, and being instructed, that he was to take the queen and march the rownd with her also, Whitelocke did it; and all this was a solemne walking to the sound of drummes and trumpets.

After which, every one returned to their places, and then they sett to dauncing of the brawles; and the queen came

to Whitelocke to take him out to daunce with her, who excused himselfe.

1654.

May 10.

Wh. Madame, I am fearfull that I shall dishonor your majesty as well as shame myselfe, by dauncing with you.

Qu. I will trye whither you can daunce.

Wh. I assure your majesty I cannot in any measure be worthy to have you by the hand.

Qu. I esteeme you worthy, and therefore make choice of you to daunce with me.

Wh. I shall not so much undervalue your majesty's judgement, as not to obey you heerin, and wish I could remember as much of this as when I was a young man.

After they had done dauncing, and Whitelocke had waited uppon the queen to her chayre of state, she said to him;

Qu. Par Dieu! these Hollanders are lying fellows.

Wh. I wonder how the Hollanders should come into your mind uppon such an occasion as this is, who are not usually thought uppon in such solemnities, nor much acquainted with them.

Qu. I will tell you all. The Hollanders reported to me a great while since, that all the nobleffe of England were of the king's party, and none butt mechanicks of the parliament party, and not a gentleman among them; now I thought to trye you, and to shame you if you could not

1654. daunce: butt I see, that you are a gentleman, and have bin bred
 May 10. a gentleman; and that makes me say the Hollanders are lying
 fellows, to report that there was not a gentleman of the
 parlement's party, when I see by you chiefly, and by many of
 your company, that you are gentlemen.

Wh. Truely, madame, in this they told a great untrueth
 to your majesty, as I believe they have done in severall other
 perticulars: I doe confesse that the greatest part of our no-
 bility and gentry were of the king's party, butt many of
 them likewise were of the parlement's party; and I, who
 am sent to waite uppon your majesty, can (without vanity)
 derive to myselfe an antient pedigree of a gentleman. They
 would not have given the honor to any butt a gentleman to
 kisse your majesty's hand, and you are pleased to doe your
 servant right, and his company, by acknowledging that our
 superiors have commaunded gentlemen to waite on you.

Qu. I assure you that I esteeme it the greater honor done
 to me, and, you are the more wellcome to me, bicause you
 are a gentleman; and had I not known and found you to
 be so, your buisnes would not have bin so well dispatched
 as it is: I see you have all the qualities of a gentleman, and
 I believe that you were excellent in your musicke and
 dauncing in your younger dayes.

Wh. I was bredd up in the qualities of a gentleman, and
 in my youth was accounted not inferior to others in the
 practice of them; butt it is so long since I used this of daun-
 cing, especially after we learned to march, that had it not
 bin to obey your majesty, I should hardly have bin drawne
 to discover my deficiencies.

Qu.

Qu. You have discovered nothing butt what tends to your honor, and to my contentment; and I take it as a favour, that you were willing to lay aside your gravity, and play the courtier uppon my request; which I see you can doe so well when you please. 1654.
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After the queen had daunced, many of the gentlemen and ladyes fell to dauncing of french daunces and countrey daunces above two howers together, till many of the company, and among the rest Whitelocke, grew very weary, and thought they stayerd long, which occasioned Whitelocke to fall into a piece of drollery. He told the senator Bundt, that he perceived that the queen was a great tyrant. Bundt att first startled with this expression, and seeming much to wonder att it, asked Whitelocke the reason why he should speake so of her majesty. Whitelocke said, he would tell the reason to the queen, if she asked him. Bundt said, shall I tell the queen of it? Whitelocke said, yes; and Bundt did tell the queen, who in some quicknes and seeming distast spake to Whitelocke.

Qu. Sir, did you speake any such words of me, as to say I am a tyrant?

Wh. Madame, I did say so to one of your senators; and I doe believe so.

Qu. What cause have I given to you to speake so hardly and strangely of me?

Wh. Bicause I see your majesty even now exercising an act of tyranny.

Qu. I pray, Sir, what act is that?

Wh.

1654. *Wh.* Madame, it is this; heer is a couple of handsome,
 May 10. gallant, young persons newly marryed, and it cannot butt
 be imagined, that they have their longings as well as others,
 who are made of flesh and blood, to partake of those in-
 joyments and pleasures which they expect; and yett, ma-
 dame, from these you have restrained the bride and bride-
 groome till now, that it is two a'clocke in the morning; and
 this is all the cruelty and tyranny wherwith I can accuse
 your majesty.

Qu. I am glad you have nothing else butt this wherof to
 accuse me, and of this you shall see a present reformation;
 and, laughing heartily, she went from Whitelocke, and com-
 maunded instantly to leave off the dauncing: the company,
 and especially the bridegroome, giving thanks to White-
 locke for this seasonable piece of drollery, as they were
 pleased to terme it.

After the dauncing ended, there was brought into the
 hall a sumptuous banquet; the hof marshal, with his
 silver staffe ushering it, and after that distributed: the queen
 and all the company went back in the same order to the
 presence chamber, and there the queen bid the bride and
 bridegroome good night; and so all went to their lodgings;
 divers of the nobles waiting on the bride to her chamber.

The queen told Whitelocke, that she believed the prince
 would be heer on Tuesday next, and that Whitelocke should
 have his audience on Friday next.

Whitelocke tooke his coach, after it had waited nine howers
 att the castle.

Early in the morning, the master of the ceremonies came ^{1654.} to accompany Whitelocke to the castle, to see the manner of ^{May 11.} the assembly of the ricksdagh, and brought him and his company to the castle to an upper roome or gallery; where he sat privately, not taken notice of by any, yett had the full view of the great hall where the ricksdagh mett, and heard what was said.

The danish ambassador did forbear to come thither (as was supposed) because of Whitelocke being there: the french resident sat by Whitelocke, and conversed with him.

The great hall, two stories high, was prepared for the assembly; an outer chamber was hung with cloth of Arras; in the antichamber to that were guards of the queen's partizans; in the court was a company of musquetiers.

The great hall was hung with those hangings which were before in Whitelocke's lodgings, with some others added, and was very handsome: on each side of the hall, from the walles towards the middle of the roome, formes were placed covered with red cloth, for seates for the members and were all alike without distinction, and reached upwards; three parts of the length of the hall, in the midst between the seats, was a space or lane, broad enough for three to walke abreast together.

At the upper end of the hall, on a foot pace, three steps high, covered with foot carpets, stood the chayre of state, all of massy silver; a rich cushion in it; and a canopy of crimson velvet richly imbroydered, over it.

On.

1654. On the left side of the chayre of state were placed five
 May 11. ordinary chayres of crimson velvet, without armes, for the
 five ricks officers; and on the same side, below them, and
 on the other side, from the foot pace down to the formes, in
 a semicircular forme, were stooles of crimson velvet, for the
 ricks senators.

About nine a'clocke, there entered att the lower end of
 the great hall, a plaine lusty man, in his boores habit, with
 a staffe in his hand, followed by about eighty boores, mem-
 bers of this councell, who had chosen the first man for their
 marshall, or speaker; these marched up in the open place
 between the formes to the midst of them, and then the
 marshall and his company fate down on the formes on the
 right of the state, from the midst downwards to the lower
 end of the hall, and putt on their hatts.

A little while after them, entered att the same doore, a
 man in a civil habit of a cittizen, with a staffe in his hand,
 followed by about 120 cittizens, deputies of the citties and
 boroughs, who had chosen him to be their marshall: they
 all tooke their places uppon the formes over against the
 boores, in the lower end of the hall, and were covered.

Not long after, att the same doore, entered a proper
 gentleman richly habited, a staffe in his hand, who was
 marshall of the nobility, followed by near 200 lords and
 gentlemen, members of the ricksdagh, chiefe of their re-
 spective families; many of them rich in clothes, of civill de-
 portment: they tooke their seats uppermost on the right of
 the state, and, whilest they walked up to their formes, the
 cittizens and boores stood up uncovered; and when the
 nobility fate and putt on their hatts, the cittizens and boores
 did so likewise.

A little after, att the same doore, entered the archbishop of Upsale, with a staffe in his hand; who by his place is marshall of the clergy: he was followed by five or six other bishops, and all the superintendants, and about sixty ministers, deputies, or proctors of the clergy. While they walked up to their places, all the rest of the members stood up uncovered; and when they fate downe on the uppermost formes on the left side of the state, and putt on their hatts and cappes, the rest of the members did the like: these were grave men, in their long cassocks and canonical habit, and most with long beards.

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All the members being thus fate, about a quarter of an hower after, entered the captain, followed by divers of the queen's garde, with partizans; after them came many gentlemen of the queens's servants, uncovered, with swords by their sides, and well clad, two and two together; after them came the ricks senators in their order, the puisné first; after them the ricks officers, all bare; after them came the queen, and kept off her hatt in the hall; some of the officers of the court and pages after her.

In this order they went up in the open place in the midst of the formes, all the members standing up uncovered: the queen's company made a lane for her to passe through, and she went up to her chayre, and fate downe in it; and all the company, except the members of the councill, went out of the hall, and all the doores were shutt; the members fate in their places uncovered.

After the queen had fate a little, she rose and beckoned to the chancellor to come to her, who came with great ceremony and respect; and after a little speaking together, he returned to his place, and the queen fate downe againe a

1654, little time; then rising up, with mettle, she came forward
 May 11. to the utmost part of the foot-pace, and with a good grace
 and confidence, spake to the assembly (as it was interpreted
 to Whitelocke) to this effect.

“ The occasion (my friends), wherefore you are called to-
 gether to this diette, will in some sort appeare strange to you;
 for being so unusuall, and, as it were, unheard of, it can-
 not be understood without great astonishment. Butt, gentle-
 men, when you shall a little reflect uppon what hath past
 some years since, you will then perceive, that it is no new
 thing, butt long since premeditated, and by me wished and
 intended.

“ It is sufficiently known to you what hath formerly past, as
 to the succession of my most deare cousen to this kingdome;
 and I esteem myselfe very happy, that all things att present
 are in such a posture, that theruppon I may bring my pur-
 pose to effect; which is, to offer and to give, into the hands
 of my most deare cousen, our most deare countrey, and the
 royall seate, with the crowne, the scepter, and the go-
 vernement.

“ I need not repeate this subject to you: it sufficeth that
 all may be done for the good of the countrey, and the pro-
 sperity and security of my most deare cousen, to whom
 you have formerly given this right, and have found him
 capable to governe you and this kingdom, which he deserves
 by his great spirits and rare qualities, joyned with his heroick
 actions, witnessed by divers incounters.

“ And since there is nothing wanting, butt time, to putt
 in execution the succession of my most deare cousen to the
 government of this kingdome, which depends only uppon
 myselfe;

myselfe ; and of my purpose nothing remaines butt to make
 you parties, which is the only occasion of my calling you
 together, and which I shall more att large declare unto you
 by my propofall ; I doubt not butt you will consent therunto,
 wherby you will testify att this time, as you have done att
 all times before, your faithfulness and obedience to me.

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“ Also, I give you thankses, that, with so much duety, you
 are come to this diette, and that, with so much affection
 and loyalty, you have demeaned yourselves towards me,
 and our most deare countrey, during my government, so
 that I have received much content by your deportment ;
 and if in these ten years of my administration I have merited
 any thing from you, it shall be this only which I desire of
 you, that you will consent to my resolution, since you may
 assure yourselves, that none can dissuade me from my
 purpose.

“ You may be pleased also to take in good part, what hath
 past during the time of my government, and to be assured,
 that heerin also, as well as in all other things, my intention
 hath bin alwayes to serve our most deare countrey : there
 remaines nothing butt my wishes, that all may worke to the
 glory of God, to the advancement of the christian church,
 and to the good and prosperity of our most deare countrey,
 and of all her inhabitants.”

After the queen had spoken, she sate downe againe ; and,
 after a little pause, the archbishop of Upsale went out of his
 place into the open passage, and, making his obeysance to
 the queen, he, as marshall of the clergy, and in their
 name, made an oration to her majesty, which was somewhat
 long : butt the effect therof was interpreted to White-
 locke to be an acknowledgement of the happy reign of her

1654. majesty; wherby her subjects had injoyed all good, peace,
May 11. and justice, and liberty, and whatsoever were the products
of a blessed government.

He then recited the great affections of this people to the king her father, and to her majesty, his only child; their duety and obedience to her in all her commaunds; that no prince could be more happy then her majesty was, in the affections and duety of her subjects, nor could any people be more contented in the rule of their soveraigne then her people were: he therefore used all arguments and humble intreaties to her majesty to desist from her intention of resigning the government, and to continue to sway the scepter of this kingdome, wherin he did not doubt butt that the blessing of God would be with her, as it had bin, and that it would be to his honor and to the good of this kingdome, if her majesty would hearken to the humble desires of the clergy in this perticular.

Then he acknowledged the virtues and admirable abilities of the prince, whose succession would come in due time; that her majesty reigning att present with so much satisfaction, both to this church and state, he humbly desired, in the name of the clergy, that she would be pleased, though to her own trouble, yett for her subjects good, to continue still to be queen over them.

After he had ended his speech, making three congees, he went up to the queen, and kist her hand, and with three more congees returned to his place.

Then the marshall of the nobility, going forth into the open place between the formes, made his oration in the name of the nobility, much to the same purpose as the
archbishop

archbishop had done ; and, after his oration ended, with like ceremony kist her majesty's hand, and returned to his place. 1654.
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Then the like was done by the marshall of the burgessees ; and all were to the same effect.

In the last place stepped forth the marshall of the boores, a plaine countrey fellow, in his clowted shoone, and all other habits answearable, as all the rest of his company were accoutered : this boore, without any congees or ceremony att all, spake to her majesty (and was interpreted to Whitelocke to be) after this phrase.

“ O Lord God, madame, what doe you meane to doe ? It troubles us to heare you speake of forsaking those that love you so well as we doe : can you be better then you are ? you are queen of all these countryes, and if you leave this large kingdome, where will you gett such another ? If you should doe it (as I hope you wont for all this), both you and we shall have cause, when it is too late, to be sorry for it. Therefore, my fellows and I pray you to thinke better on't, and to keep your crown on your head ; then you will keepe your own honor and our peace : butt if you lay it downe, in my conscience, you will indaunger all.

“ Continue in your geeres, good madame, and be the fore-horse as long as you live, and we will help you the best we can to beare your burden.

“ Your father was an honest gentleman, and a good king, and very stirring in the world ; we obeyed him and loved him as long as he lived, and you are his own childe, and have governd us very well, and we love you with all our hearts ;

1654. hearts; and the prince is an honest gentleman, and, when
 May 11. his time comes, we shall be ready to doe our duties to him,
 as we doe to you: butt, as long as you live, we are not
 willing to part with you, and therfore, I pray, madame,
 doe not part with us."

When the boore had ended his speech, he waddled up to the queen, without any ceremoney, tooke her by the hand, and shaked it heartily, and kist it two or three times; then turning his backe to her, he pulled out of his pocket a fowle handkercher, and wiped the tears from his eyes, and in the same posture as he came up he returned back to his own place againe.

When the orations were all ended, one of the queen's secretaries, by her commaund, read unto the assembly a paper, which Whitelocke procured to be given to him in a copy, and translated into English.

The proposition of her majesty of Sweden to the estates assembled att Upsale, the 11th of May, in the year 1654.

" Since, for certain reasons, her majesty found it good and necessary to assemble the estates of the kingdome att this time, and that they have given testimony of their obedience in their comming together; her majesty hath great cause to rejoyce, that the good God hath preserved our countrey from all apparent harmes, and principally from the contagious sicknes of the plague, which spread itselife in divers places the last Autumne, butt att present is ceased, so that we may meet together in all safety. Her majesty rejoyceth in the good health of her faithful subjects; and this obligeth us, not only to returne humble thanks to our good
 God,

God, butt the more to supplicate him, for the future, to
avert his fatherly chastisements from us.

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“ Also her majesty understands, with great joy, that the scarcity, and dearth in the late years, is now changed into fruitfullnes and abundance, so that, the last year, there was not only very great abundance of all things which the earth produceth, butt further (thankes be to God) we have cause, according to appearances, to hope this yeare will be no lesse fruitfull; the which great blessing of God to this countrey cleerly shoves us the great obligations, which we have to him.

“ Also her majesty calles to mind that, which she graciously mentions to her faithfull subjects, how the countrey, within the limits therof, is att present in a good and peaceable condition, and so hath bin kept by divine Providence, and the faithfull care of her majesty, in times of daunger; and when warre, and the imminent perills accompanying the same, rownd about us had the sway, yett we alwayes continued in quiet, without taking part in others quarrells; and, for this end, hath alwayes indeavored to intertaine a sincere friendship and good correspondence with her neighbors and allies.

“ And as to the neighborhood of Denmarke, her majesty hath nothing to feare, since she hath given no occasion in any thing butt of sincere friendship and firme peace.

“ In like manner, with all possible care, by her commissioners, hath composed the differences touching the limits between her and the Great Duke of Muscovy; and although the said duke hath signified to her majesty, by divers envoyes, that he would justify the expedition of warre, newly
made

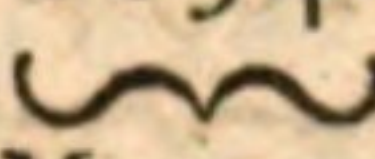
1654. made by him, against the Polanders, with all the reasons
 therof; yett since that is a buisnes which can no way in-
 May 11. volve her majesty, and the crown of Sweden, there is no
 cause to feare it; provided that their actions be watched,
 and that, by little and little, preparation be made, if there
 shall be cause to apply some remedies.

“ With the king and crown of Poland is continued the
 amnestie for twenty-six years, formerly accorded; and al-
 though her majesty wisheth that this amnestie had bin con-
 verted into a perpetuall peace, and, for this end, she hath
 caused paines to be taken twice att Lubec, by the media-
 tors and her commissioners, and although they are not yett
 agreed, nevertheless her majesty understands so much on
 the part of Poland, that they are not disaffected to the re-
 newing of the treatyes for a longer time, so that her ma-
 jesty hath no cause butt to promise herselfe, att length, a
 favourable successe therin.

“ With the Emperor and Roman empire, her majesty,
 since the peace executed in Germany, hath continued and
 maintayned good amity and correspondence; and, for this
 end, she hath her ambassadors there, who have their places
 in the present diette, for the principality of Bremen, Ver-
 den, and Pomerland, among the other members of the
 empire, who doe there maintaine and observe the interests
 of her majesty; and, for the conclusion of the peace of
 Germany, her majesty hath resolved, by a great ambassy,
 to accept the possession and investiture from the emperor
 of the conquered countryes.

“ Also, her majesty hath a good correspondence and
 friendship with France and Spayne, by fitt meanes, and a
 good allyance.

“ But

“ But perticularly her majesty rejoyceth, that the per- 1654.
 lous warre, made in the ocean, between the two powerfull 
 common-wealths of England and the united provinces May 11.
 (by which we have received very great damage in our
 trade throughout as it appeareth), is appeased and ended;
 and that, since, her majesty hath made an allyance with the
 common-wealth of England; for the security of navigation
 and commerce; so that the faithfull subjects of her majesty
 may, therby, hope to have great advantage and profit.

“ In this posture and state of affayres, her majesty thinkes
 it fitt to prosecute her intention, which she hath conceived
 some years since, and to putt the same in execution, that
 is, to give up the kingdome of Sweden, and her scepter, to
 his royall highnes, the most high, most illustrious prince,
 Charles Gustave, by the grace of God, designed hereditary
 prince of the kingdome of Sweden, Count Palatin of the
 Rhine in Bavaria, prince of Guliche, Cleve, and Bergen;
 and this is the only buisnes which her majesty hath to pro-
 pose to her faithfull subjects att this time.

“ Her majesty also hath this gracious confidence in all
 the estates heer now assembled, that when they shall confi-
 der, with what dexterity, pains, and travaile, her majesty
 for ten years hath managed the affayres of this kingdome,
 and with such good fortune; that all the counsells and in-
 tentions of her majesty have bin followed with such happy
 succeffe; that the state, with great honor and reputation,
 hath escaped many difficulties of war, and yett injoyes such
 quiet; that they cannot judge or conclude, that her maje-
 sty would now make any alteration, were it not for the
 good and safety of this nation.

1654. ^{May 11.} “ The estates, which have bin formerly assembled, know very well how earnestly her majesty pressed, that the kingdome and government might be provided of a successor, therby to avoyde and cutt of the suddain accidents which happen when a government is uncertain ; for which reason, the estates, in that point, did agree, and thinke good heertofore, that his highnes should be chosen, and made hereditary prince and successor to the crown : all this her majesty did propose and urge, till it was brought to the effect which that time produced.

“ And to the end, that her majesty, during her life, may have the pleasure to see the happy effect of this design, and that the entire government may be rendred into the hands of his royall highnes ; therefore, her majesty hath resolved to quitt the crowne, and the privileges of it, and to putt them into the hands of his royall highnes.

“ And although this resolution of her majesty may seem strange and unexpected to the estates of the kingdome, nevertheles, according to her gracious confidence, she believes, that they will consent to her quiet, in retiring herselfe from so heavy a burden, by their contributing an assent to the proposed alteration.

“ Her majesty likewise assures herselfe (as the estates, by their former acts, have alwayes testified) of the esteem which they have of the person, and of the rare virtues, and well knowne qualities, of his royall highnes ; and that they will find, that he will imploy them to a prudent government, and to their great advantage ; and that, att length, they will not be deceived by this change, or any wayes prejudiced : for which end her majesty promifeth, and offereth, to contribute all her advice and counsell, and
indea-

indeavour; chiefly, that his royall highnes, before his entry ^{1654.} into the governement, may assure the estates, and effectually doe that, which the kings of Sweden, uppon the like ^{May 11.} occasions, have used to doe, and are by the lawes and customs obliged unto.

“ And, on the other part, that the estates, and all the subjects of Sweden, be obliged to render unto his royall highnes that respect, obedience, and all those rights, which appertaine to a king, and which they are obliged to performe.

“ And as her majesty hath considered, and resolved upon the meanes, wherby her majesty may enjoy a yearly pension to be settled upon her during her life; and having communicated her purpose therein to his royall highnes, the successor to the crowne: so she gratiouly hopeth, that her faithfull subjects, and the estates, will be content therewith, humbly receiving and consenting to what her majesty hath gratiouly disposed.

“ Her majesty gratiouly requires all the estates of the kingdome, that they would, as soon as may be, consider this buisnes, to the end, that the resolution taken by her majesty may, in a short time, be brought unto effect.

“ Her majesty most gratiouly thankes all her faithfull subjects, for the obedience, honor, and respect, which every one of them hath faithfully testified to her majesty, during the time of her governement; so that her majesty hath received full contentment by their most humble demeanor, which heerafter, uppon all occasions, she will acknowledge with all gratitude.

1654. " Her majesty also hopeth, that her most faithfull sub-
 May 11. jects will be satisfyed, and give a good construction of the
 faithfull care, which her majesty hath imployed for all in
 generall and their happines, and chiefly for the gracious
 affection which she hath testified towards every one in per-
 ticular.

" Her majesty wisheth, that the most high and most
 powerfull God would conserve and protect our deare
 countrey, with all the inhabitants therof, and all the sub-
 jects from all harme; and, to conclude, that the estates of
 the kingdome, as well in generall as in perticular, may
 continue and increase from day to day, and may for ever
 flourish."

After this proposition was read, the queen's servants
 were called in, and she went out of the hall, attended by
 them and the ricks senators, in the same way and manner
 as she came in; and after she was gone, first, the arch-
 bishop of Upsale, and the clergy following him; second,
 the marshall and nobility; third, the marshall and burgef-
 fes; fourth, the marshall and boores, went out of the hall
 in the same order as they first came in; and when they were
 all gone, Whitelocke returned to his lodging.

About eleven a'clocke in the evening, the master of the
 ceremonies came to bring Whitelocke to the remainder of
 the solemnities of the marryage. Whitelocke, in no good
 condition to goe abroad, having sate up the last night,
 yett rather then discontent the queen, and the nobility,
 who had sent for him, he went with the master in the
 queen's coach to the bride-groome's lodging in the castle,
 who mett him in the outer chamber, and brought him into
 another roome, where were many senators and lords: they
 all

all tooke their coach, and went, in the same order as the day 1654.
before, to the queen, where the bride and ladyes were ex-
pecting them. May 11.

They came all to the great hall, where the queen and the company tooke their places, and the drummes beating and trumpetts founding; a gentleman entered the hall, carrying a speare or pike covered with taffata of the bridegroom's colours, all butt the head, which was silver, worth about twenty crownes; he stood by the bride, holding the speare in the middle, both ends of it about breast high, and the bridegroom was brought and placed by his bride. Then senator Bundt made a solemne speech to the queen, which (according to the interpretation made to Whitelocke) was to thanke her majesty for the favour which she did to the bride and bridegroom, in permitting the nuptials to be in her court; and he acquainted the queen, and published to the company, what dowrey the bridegroom had given that morning to his bride, with 2000 ducketts for her provision; and that twelve of the nobility, of the alliance and friends to them both, were witnesses therunto, and were to take care, that the money should be disposed to the use of the wife and children, in case she survived her husband.

Then a gentleman read aloud the names of the twelve witnesses, who, as they were called, one after another making their honors to the queen, went and layd their right hands on the speare; and then was published the dowrey and augmentation, thus by these twelve witnessed.

After this, the speare was layd down att the feet of the bride, and all, making their solemne reverences to the queen, tooke againe their places. Then the same gentleman,

1654. man, that layd down the speare, took it up againe and
 May 11. threw it out of the window into the great court; where a
 multitude of people stood expecting it, and scrambled for
 the head of it, and for the taffata, which they tore in pieces
 and wore in their hatts, as the bride's favours.

After this ceremony ended, the bridegroom came and
 tooke the bride by the hand, and they marched after the
 torches to the sound of the drummes and trumpetts; after
 that, the bridegroom tooke the queen by the hand, and
 the bride came and tooke the english ambassador by the
 hand, and other noblemen tooke their severall ladyes, and
 they marched two and two amidst the torches, and to
 the same lowde musick as they had done the night
 before.

After this, the noblemen and ladyes went to daunce
 french daunces, and countrey daunces; butt Whitelocke,
 having watched the night before, and not being well, he
 privately withdrew himselfe from the company, and retired
 to his house; wondering that the queen, after so serious a
 worke as she had bin att in the morning, could be so pleased
 with this evening's ceremonies.

12. About one a'clocke the last night, Whitelocke comming
 from the solemnities of the court, received two pacquets of
 letters from England: he had the more cause to remember
 the time, bicause then, although midnight, he could per-
 fectly reade his letters without any candle, or other light
 then that of the heavens, which, in this season of the yeare,
 scarce leaves any night att all, butt so as one may well
 reade all the night long with the help of twilight.

The

The letters from Thurloe of the first date acquainted ^{1654.} Whitelocke, that now he had sent duplicates of the last in-
structions by a ship going for Sweden. ^{May 12.}

In Thurloe's second letters, dated 13th Aprill, he mentions the instruction sent formerly to Whitelocke, and acquaints him againe with the effect of them, and the protector's order, by which he leaves it to Whitelocke to returne home when he shall judge it fitt; and that, if he should stay the ceremonies of the coronation of the new king, it would occasion great delay. And he writes further:

“Butt, in trueth, we cannot believe (notwithstanding all that is said) that her majesty will quitt her crowne, being so well qualified, in all respects, to governe as she is, and seems to be very well accepted of her people.”

Then he againe mentions the signing of the peace with the Dutch, and that the protector had appointed commissioners to treat with the French, Spanish, and Portugall ambassadors; butt had not yett declared himselfe to any of his neighbors.

“That the buisnes in Scotland was well, that the protector had taken away collonel Rich's commission, whereof the officers of his regiment were glad; that many congratulatory petitions to his highnes came from divers countyes, one from Bucks; that the protector proceeded to reformation of the law and ministry; and I hope he will merit as well in that as in the military affayres. I returne your excellence my humble thanks, for your acceptance of my indeavors to serve you; I can say they come from an honest heart, which
7 very

1654. very really imbraceth every opportunity wherein I may manifest my selfe
 May 12.

Your excellency's faithfull humble servant,

Whitehall,
 13th Aprill, 1654.

JO. THURLOE."

Whitelocke received severall letters in these packetts from Mr. Cokaine; one dated 2d Aprill faith thus:

" You will have leave from his highnes to take your first opportunity to come away, and I hope it will not be without bringing your buisnes to a happy and an honourable issue, which is the constant subject of our requests to the Lord for you, and I doubt not butt we shall have a comfortable answer. In the meane time, I thinke (as I have hinted to your excellence in former letters) it will not be amisse if you drawe good store of bills uppon us, though butt *pro forma*, that we may gett as much money for you as we can before your returne, and that you may have a sufficient overplus to pay all servants wages off, which I believe will amount to a considerable sum; and, uppon this peace, I hope it will be no hard matter to gett your bills payd, especially if your excellence please withall to write to my lord protector, and Mr. Thurloe, and some of the councill about it. I could wish that you would make what hast you can home; for I am informed, by a speciall hand, that there is great labouring to make a chancellor, whilest you are absent, and to take that opportunity to putt you by, whom I believe they doubt to be too much a christian, and an englishman, to trust in their service; butt I hope God will give you a heart to submit to his will, and to prize a good conscience above all the world; which will indeed

indeed stand us in stead, when all outward things cannot
in the least administer to us.

1654.
May 12.

Your excellency's most humble servant,

Aprill 2d.

GEO. COKAINE."

In another letter, from Mr. Cokaine, he saith :

" Mr. Thurloe was pleased to acquaint me, that it was his highnes and the councell's pleasure to make some alteration in the chancery ; that it was determined, that your lordship, and Sir Thomas Widdrington, and my lord L'Isle, should have the custody of the great seale, and I believe an act to that purpose will passe within few howers ; butt I perceive this buisnes was not done without some tugging : butt my lord protector and John Thurloe are true to you ; and now I am out of all fears, that any affront should be offered you in your absence. Mr. Mackworth deserves a letter from you, butt nothing I pray of this buisnes. Indeed Mr. Thurloe hath played his part gallantly, and like a true friend ; for which I shall love him as long as I live."

In other letters from Mr. Cokaine in this pacquett, dated 14th Aprill, he saith :

" Your old servant Abell is much courted by his highnes to be his faulkener in chiefe, butt he will not accept it, except your excellence had bin heer to give him your explicite leave to serve his highnes ; and told me, without stuttering, he would not serve the greatest prince in the world, except your excellence were present to make the bargaine, that he might waite uppon you, with a cast of hawkes, att the beginning of September every yeare into Bedfordshire : it is pitty that gallantry should hurt any ;

1654. certainly it is a noble profession that inspires him with such
 a spirit.
 May 12.

“ My lord protector, this week, hath expressed great respect to your excellence, upon the death of the clerke of the peace of Bucks ; some of the justices came up, and moved his highnes to putt one into his place, who theruppon asked, who was custos rotulorum? they answered, the lord ambassador Whitelocke ; he theruppon replied, that the place should not be disposed of till his returne. They urged it againe, with many reasons, butt he gave them the same answer, only with this addition, that he was to returne sooner then perhaps they were aware of.”

By this pacquett Whitelocke received letters from Mr. Selden, which were thus :

For his excellence the lord Whitelocke, lord ambassador from the state of England, to her majesty of Sweden.

“ MY LORD,

“ Your excellence’s last of the third of February brought me so unexpressible a plenty of the utmost of such happynes as consists in true reputation and honor, as that nothing with me will equall or come neer it. First, that her most excellent majesty, a prince so unparalleled and incomparable, and so justly acknowledged with the height of true admiration, by all that either have, or love arts, or other goodnes, should vouchsafe to descend to the mention of my meane name, and the inquiry of my being and condition, with such most gracious expressions. Next, that your excellence, whose favours have bin so continually multiplied on me, should be the person of whom such inquiry was made ;

made ; all the daunger is, that your noble affection rendred 1654.
 me farre above myselfe : however, it necessitates me to be-
 come a fervent suitor to your excellence, that if it shall fall ^{May 12.}
 out, that her majesty and you have againe leifure, and will
 to speake of any such trifle as I am, you will be pleased to
 represent to her majesty my most humble thankes, and my
 heart full of devotion to her, of which too I shall study
 to give, if I can, some other humble testimony. God send
 her most excellent majesty alwayes her heart's desires, and
 the most royall amplitude of all happynefs, and your lord-
 ship a good dispatch, and safe and timely returne.

My lord, your excellency's most

Whitefryers,
 March 2, 1653.

obliged and humble servant,

JO. SELDEN."

Whitelocke had also in this pacquet, letters from his old
 friends Mr. Hall, Mr. Eltonhead, the lord commissioner
 L'Isle, his brothers Wilson and Carleton, Mr. Peters, Sir
 Joseph Holland, and divers others ; also letters, from Ham-
 bourgh, from Mr. Bradeshaw, the protector's resident
 there, with some intercepted letters from the king's party,
 as Sir Edward Hyde, and severall others.

This day being appointed for Whitelocke's last audience,
 he was habited in a plain suit of very fine english cloth of
 muske colour, the buttons of gold, enamelled, and in each
 button a rubye, and rich points and ribbons of gold ; his
 gentlemen were in their richest clothes, his pages and lac-
 quayes, above twenty, in their liveries.

In the afternoon, two of the ricks senators, with the
 master of the ceremonies, came with two of the queen's

1654. coaches to Whitelocke's house, to bring him to his audience; he received them with the usuall ceremonie, and, after they had sate a little while in his bed-chamber, one of the senators said, that, by the queen's commaund, they were come to him to accompany him to his audience, which he had desired this day, and that her majesty was ready to receive him.

May 12.

Whitelocke answered, that he was alwayes desirous to waite uppon her majesty, and not the lesse now, bicause it was in order to returne to his own countrey. They made no long complements, butt went downe and tooke their coaches.

The noblemens coaches, sent thither to accompany him, went first, then followed his two coaches, and last, the queen's coaches: in the last of them sate the two senators in the fore-end, Whitelocke in the backe-end, and the master in the boote; the gentlemen in the severall coaches, the pages and lacquayes walking and riding behind the coaches.

Att the bridge of the castle was a guard of musquetiers more then formerly, of about two companies, with their officers; they made a lane from the bridge to the end of the court: as soon as Whitelocke was alighted out of the coach, the ricks hough master, with his silver staffe, mett him att the stayres foote; very many of the queen's servants and courtiers with him, very gallant. Whitelocke's gentlemen went first, two and two up the stayres; after them, the queen's servants, then the master of the ceremonies, then the hough marshall, then the two senators and Whitelocke between them, followed by his sons, his chaplains, phyfitian,

physitian, secretaries, and steward, and after them his pages 1654.
and lacquayes.

May 12.

In this order they mounted the stayres, and through the great chamber to the guard chamber, where the queen's partizans stood in their rich coates, with the armes of Sweden imbroydered with gold, their swords by their sides, and rich halberts guilded in their hands; they stood in a fixed posture, more like images then men.

When they came to the audience chamber, there was scarce roome for any of Whitelocke's gentlemen to come in, butt, by the civility of the queen's servants, roome was made for them, and they made a lane from the doore of the chamber to the upper end neer the queen, who was uppon a foot pace, covered with carpets, and a rich canopy over her head.

Her habit was blacke filke stufte for her coates, and over them a blacke velvet jippo, such as men use to weare; she had uppon her breast the jewell of the order of the knights of Amaranta, her hayre hung loose as it used to doe, and her hatt was after the fashion of men: a great number of senators, and of civill and military officers and courtiers, many more then ordinarily did appeare att any audience, stood all bare about her, and a few ladyes were behind her.

She stood uppon the carpets before the state with her hatt on, and when Whitelocke came first into the roome, and pulled off his hatt, the queen presently pulled off her hatt, and when Whitelocke made his honors, she answered him, though att that distance, with a short coursey. After his three obeyfances, being come up to the queen, he kist her hand; then the queen putt on her hatt, and Whitelocke
putt.

1654. putt on his hatt, and, after a little pawse, with high silence
 and solemnity in all the company, Whitelocke took off his
 May 12. hatt, and the queen took off her hatt likewise, and all the
 time of his speaking both of them were uncovered. White-
 locke having made his ceremonies, spake to the queen
 thus:

“Madame,

“I confesse that the time of my absence from my relations, and concernements in my own countrey, would have seemed very tedious, had I not bin in the publique service, and honored with admittance into your majesty's prefence; whose favours, answerable to your greatnes, though above my merit, have bin enlarged towards me during the whole time of my residence, under the just and safe protection of your majesty: the which, with the civilities of those most excellent persons with whom I treated, and of those who have bin pleased to honor me with their acquaintance in your court, I shall not fayle to acknowledge with all respect.

“Butt, madame, to your majesty I shall not presume to returne any other acknowledgement then by the thanks of my lord the protector, who is able to judge of the affection showed to him and to the common-wealth, wherof he is the head, by the honor done unto their servant.

“Madame, it is your great judgement in the publique interest, and your desire to advance the good of your own state, and that of your neighbors, and the perticular respect that you beare to my master, wherby the buisnes trusted to my care by his highnes is brought to such an issue, as I hope

hope will be a solide foundation of great and mutuall prof- 1654.
perity to both these nations.

May 12.

“ I have nothing to adde on my parte, butt to intreate that my faylings and errors, not willfully committed, may be excused, to take my leave of your majesty, and to assure you, that there is no person who honors you more then I doe, and who shall be more ready to lay hold on any opportunity, wherby I may indeavor, to the utmost of my power, to contribute to the happyness and prosperity of your royall majesty, and of your people.”

As it was done att Whitelocke's first audience, so he now ordered it, that Monf. de la Marche, one of his chapleins, did, att the end of every sentence as Whitelocke spake, interpret the same to the queen in french.

During all the time of his speaking to the queen, she looked him wistly in the face, and came up very neer unto him, as she had done att his first audience, perhaps to have daunted him, as she had done others, butt he was not daunted; and when he had made an end of speaking, after a little pause, the queen answered him in the swedish language, which was then interpreted in latin to Whitelocke, to this effect:

“ My lord ambassador,

“ It may well be, that your stay in this place, where you have bin so ill accommodated, and your absence from your neer relations and native countrey, hath bin tedious to you; butt I can assure you, that your residence in my court hath bin a contentment to mysele, and to those who have had the honor to converse with you in this place:
and

1654. and it would have bin a blemish to me, and to all under
 May 12. my government, if, in this time, any thing of injury or
 daunger had fallen out to your person, or to any of your
 people. I hope I may say, that there hath bin no such
 thing offered to you, and I am glad of it.

“ I doe not know that your judgement hath deceived you
 in any thing butt this, that you have too great a value of
 my understanding of publique affayres. It hath bin your
 prudent management of the buisnes committed to your trust
 by the protector, and my perticular respects to him, and
 to your common-wealth, with the good inclinations of the
 people of this countrey towards you, and the generall in-
 terest of the protestant party, which have brought your
 buisnes to effect ; and which, I hope, will occasion much
 good and happynes to these nations, and to all the evange-
 licall party. And truely, sir, your demeanor on all occa-
 sions requires from us this testimony, that we have found
 much honor, and great abilities to be in you ; and I should
 be very unwilling to part with so good company, were it
 not in order to your own satisfaction for your returne to
 England.

“ I know no errors committed by you heer, butt desire
 your excuse of the want of those expressions of our respect,
 which this place would not afforde : the thankes are due
 to you, for your patience, and for the affection which you
 have testified to me and to this nation, from whom you
 may depend uppon a firme friendship and amitie, with a
 true respect to the protector and common-wealth of Eng-
 land, and an honorable esteem of yourselfe in perticular,
 to whom we wish a safe and prosperous returne to your
 own countrey.”

After

After the queen had done speaking, Whitelocke had some ^{1654.} private discourse of complement with her in french, to give ^{May 12.} her majesty thanks for her noble treatment of him, and many favors to him; then, according to the usage of this court, he delivered to Mons. Lagerfeldt, standing by, a copy of his speech in english, signed by him with his hand, and another copy of his speech in latin, not signed by him, to be presented to the queen: then Whitelocke tooke his leave, and kist her majesty's hand, who gave him the à Dieu with great respect and civility.

He was conducted back to his coach with the same ceremony as he was brought to his audience, and the same two senators, with the master of the ceremonies, returned with him to his house; and, after usuall complements past between them, they returned to the court.

The trouble of the day was not yett ended; butt after Whitelocke had come from the court, Lagerfeldt brought to him the articles touching Guinee, which were agreed uppon, and signed and sealed by the queen's commissioners, as the other part of them was by Whitelocke *.

* See appendix T.

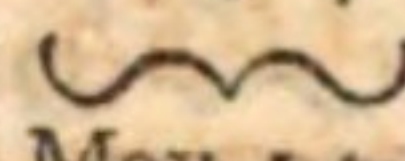
After the great toyle of this buify day, a yett greater toyle must be undergone by Whitelocke to make his dispatches for England: by his letters to Thurloe he againe acquainted the councell with the good conclusion of his treaty, and with his taking leave of the queen in his last audience; and sent him copyes of the speeches, and gave an account of the buisnes of Guinee, with all materiall passages since his last letters, and his resolution and way of returne home.

1654. He also answered the letters of every one of his friends,
 which were very many; but that to his wife, as he was
 afterwards informed, caused much trouble and passion,
 that, by this date of the letter, 12th May, she perceived
 that he was not removed from Upsale in his journey to re-
 turne homewards.

13. Whitelocke began his visits and complements to take his
 leave of his friends in this court; and heerein he was to be
 very exact, and not to omit any one who had given him
 the honor of former visits: he, to be the lesse subject to
 mistakes, sett down in writing the names of those whom he
 was to visite, which made a long catalogue; but he must
 gett through it, as part of the buisnes of an ambassador.
 And this day he began, by visiting the french and holland
 residents, and the Grave Leonhough, whose discourses were
 concerning the peace between England and the Dutch, the
 english strong fleet att sea, of the queen's resignation, and
 other generall themes, not necessary to be repeated.

Woolfeldt gave a visit to Whitelocke, and discoursed on
 the same subjects, but more particularly of the interest of
 England, and the payment of tolle to the king of Den-
 marke att the Sundt; wherein Whitelocke had good informa-
 tion from him, and such as, if it had bin hearkened unto,
 would have bin of great advantage to the protector, and
 common-wealth of England: so great an interest White-
 locke had gained in the affection and friendship of this
 gentleman, that he would not conceale from him any thing
 that he knew (who knew more then any other that White-
 locke mett with) concerning the Sundt, the king of Den-
 marke, the court and courtiers heer, or whatsoever related
 to Whitelocke's buisnes, and to England.

This

This *Lord's day*, Sir George Fletewood did Whitelocke 1654.
 the favour to beare him company att his house, and told 
 him, that the queen and her lords were pleased with his May 14.
 deportment att his last audience, and with his speech then
 made, which they commended, butt is heer omitted.

He and others also acquainted Whitelocke, that the queen
 tooke great pleasure att his carriage att the solemnity of
 the nuptials att court, and that he would daunce with
 them; and both the queen and her courtiers said, that the
 english ambassador knew how to lay aside the gravity of an
 ambassador when he pleased, and could play the courtier
 with as good a grace as any one that ever they saw, with
 much to the like effect.

Whitelocke visited marshall Wrangell and generall Wit- 15.
 tenbergh, and went from thence to the castle to visit Grave
 Tot, who told him, that the queen had altered her purpose
 of sending him into England, and would doe him the honor
 to retaine him with her, butt that yett he hoped in a short
 time to see England.

Whitelocke said, he should be glad to meet him and to
 doe him service there: they discoursed of the queen's resi-
 dence in Pomerland, or some other place neer this coun-
 trey, and of the discommodities and inconveniencies which
 would arise therby.

Whitelocke told him, that if the queen had leifure, that
 he should be glad to waite on her; and Tot went presently
 to know her pleasure, and promised to bring word to
 Whitelocke if he might see the queen, and did it, att the
 lady Jane Ruthen's lodging, whither Whitelocke was gone
 to take his leave of that lady; whence he brought White-

1654. Locke to the traverse of the wardrobe, where her majesty
 May 15. came to him, and conducted him into her bed-chamber,
 where they thus discoursed.

Wh. I humbly thanke your majesty for admitting me to
 be present att the meeting of the ricksdagh.

Qu. How did you like the manner and proceedings of it
 when you were there?

Wh. It was with the greatest gravity and solemnity that
 I ever saw in any publique assembly, and well becomming
 persons of their quality and interest.

Qu. There be among them very considerable persons,
 and wise men.

Wh. Such an assembly requires such men, and their car-
 ryage showed them to be such; butt, madame, I expected
 that your chancellor, after he spake with your majesty,
 should, according to the course in our parlements, have
 declared, by your direction, the causes of the councill's
 being summoned.

Qu. It belongs to the office of the chancellor with us to
 doe it, and when I called him to me, it was to desire him
 to doe it.

Wh. How then came it to passe that he did it not, when
 his place and your majesty required it?

Qu. He desired to be excused, and gave me this reason,
 that he had taken an oath to my father to use his utmost
 indeavor

indeavor to keep the crown on my head; and that the cause of my calling this diette was to have their consents for me to quitt the crown; that if he should make this proposition to them, it would be contrary to the oath which he had taken to my father, and therefore he could not doe it.

1654.

May 15.

Wh. Did not your majesty expect this answear?

Qu. Not att all, butt was wholly surprised by it; and when the ricksdagh were mett, my chancellor thus excusing himselfe, there was nobody appointed by me to declare to them the cause of their meeting; butt rather then the assembly should be putt off, and nothing done, I pluckt up my spirits the best I could, and spake to them on the suddein as you heard, although much to my disadvantage.

Wh. Indeed, madame, you were much surprised; and I cannot butt wonder, that you should have no intimation given you before hand of your chancellor's resolution: butt your majesty will pardon me, if I believe it proved no disadvantage to you, when I had the honor to see and heare, with how excellent a grace, and how princelike your majesty, in so great an assembly, and on a suddein, delivered your mind and purpose.

Qu. You are apt to make the best construction of it; you see I did adventure uppon it, remembering that they were my subjects, and I their queen.

Wh. Madame, you spake and acted like yourselfe, and were highly complemented by the severall marshalls, butt, above all the rest, by the honest boore.

Qu. Was you so taken with his clownery?

Wh.

1654. *Wh.* It seemed to me as pure and cleer naturall elo-
quence, without any forced straine, as could be expressed.
 May 15.

Qu. Indeed there was little else butt what was naturall, and by a well meaning man, who is understanding enough in his countrey way.

Wh. Whosoever shall consider his matter, more then his forme, will find that the man understands his buisnes ; and the garment or phraze wherwith he clothed his matter, though it was rusticke, yett the variety and plaine elegancy, and reason, could not butt affect his auditors.

Qu. I thinke he spake from his heart.

Wh. I believe he did, and acted so too, especially when he wiped his eyes.

Qu. He showed his affection to me in that posture, more then greater men did in their spheres.

Wh. Madame, we must looke uppon all men to worke according to their present interest ; and so I suppose doe the great men heer as well as elsewhere.

Qu. Heer I have had experience enough of such actings : I shall trye what they doe in other places, and content myfelfe however I shall find it.

Wh. Your majesty will not expect to find much difference in the humors of men, as to seeking themselves, and neglecting those from whom they have received favours.

Qu.

Qu. It will be no otherwise then what I am armed to 1654.
beare, and not to regard; butt your perticular respects I ^{May 15.}
shall alwayes remember with gratefullnes.

Wh. Your majesty shall ever find me your faithfull servant. Doe you intend, madame, to goe from hence to Pomerland?

Qu. My intentions are to goe presently after my resignation to the Spae; butt wheresoever I am, you have a true friend of me.

Wh. There is no person alive more cordially your majesty's servant then I am.

Qu. I doe believe it, or else I should not have communicated to you such things as I have done.

Wh. Your majesty hath therein expressed much confidence in me, which I hope shall never deceive you, however my want of abilities may not answer your majesty's favours to me.

Qu. I have noe doubt of your faithfullnes, and you have sufficiently manifested your abilities. Give me leave to trouble you with the company of a gentleman, my servant, whom I purpose to send over with you to England, to take care for those things which I desire to have from thence.

Wh. He shall be very wellcome to me and my company, and I shall give him my best assistance for your majesty's service.

Qu.

1654. *Qu.* I shall thanke you for it, and commaund him to
 obey your directions.
 May 15.

Wh. Madame, if you please to accept a sett of black english stone-horses for your coach, I shall take the boldnes to send them to your stables; and pray your majesty, that the master of your horse may furnish me for my journey to Stockholme.

Qu. I doe thankfully accept your kindnes, and all mine are att your service.

Wh. I have interrupted your majesty too long. I desired the favour of this opportunity to present my most humble thanks to your majesty for all your noble favours to me, and my company.

Qu. I intreat your excuse for the meanness of my presents: I could not doe therein what I desired, nor after your merit.

Wh. Madame, there is nothing of my merit to be alledged; butt your majesty hath testified much honor to the protector and common-wealth, whom I serve.

Qu. England is a noble countrey, and your master is a gallant man: I desire you to assure him, on my part, of all affection and respect towards him.

Wh. Your majesty may be confident of the like from his highnes; and your humble servant will heartily pray for your majesty's prosperity, where ever you are.

Qu.

Qu. I wish you a happy voyage and returne to your own countrey.

1654.
May 15.

After he came from the queen, Whitelocke mett with the baron Steinbergh, master of her horse, whom he acquainted with what he had moved to her majesty, and he was very forward to accommodate Whitelocke.

From hence he went and visited Grave Eric Oxenstierne, who discoursed with him about the solemnity of the nuptials att court, and asked him how he liked it?

Wh. They were very noble; butt I pray, my noble brother, instruct me what the meaning was of the dowrey given by the bridegroom to the bride, the next morning after he had bedded her; and what doe you call that dowrey?

Eric. By the antient custome of this countrey, the next morning after the wedding night, the husband bestowes uppon his wife a guift of money, according to his estate, to shew how he is pleased with the cohabitation, and to make some provision, in case of his death before her, for the wife, and children which he shall have by her; and this we call a morgeng gaven, a morning's guift.

Wh. The same word morgeng gaven is in the old termes of our english lawes, and expounded to signify a second dowrey, and hath much affinity with this of yours, and in that of your twelve wittnesses, who testified the contract of marryage and the morgeng gaven; to which our tryalls by twelve men, whome we call juryes, bicause they are sworne, are somewhat like, and they are so many wittnesses, as well as judges of the fact.

1654. *Eric.* I believe your customes and ours had the same
 May 15. originall.

Wh. I find much resemblance between them and yours :
 what doe you call the twelve that layd their hands on the
 speare ?

Eric. We call them the twelve wittnesse, les douze
 témoins.

Wh. What doe you call the speare or pike which the gen-
 tleman held?

Eric. We call it weppun.

Wh. We have the same word, weapon, for all manner of
 armes and warlike instruments. What doe you call the
 laying of their hands uppon the speare ?

Eric. We call it tack, weppun tack, to touch the speare.

Wh. We have also the word tack, for touching ; and we
 have, in the northerne parts of England, a perticular pre-
 cinct, or territory, which we call a wapen-take, and a ter-
 ritoriall court of justice there, which we call a wapen-take
 court : and a very learned gentleman, from whom I re-
 ceived letters in my last packet, Selden, derives the name
 of wapen-take from weapon and tacke ; and faith, they
 used to come to that court with their weapons, and to touch
 one anothers weapons, from whence came the appellation
 of wapen-take.

Eric. Tacitus observes that, att the publique assemblyes
 and councells of the Germans, they used to meet with their
 weapons,

weapons, and, when any thing was sayd that pleased them, 1654.
they would touche one anothers speares, or weapons, and
therby make a noyse, to testify their consent and appro- ^{May 15.}
bation.

Wh. Your ceremony, of laying downe the speare att the
feet of the bride, putts me in mind of another passage in
Tacitus, de moribus germanorum; that, when a man was
married, he used to bring his armes and lay them att the
feet of his bride, to signify that, he would not take them
up, nor goe forth to warre, being newly married, with-
out the leave of his wife, to whom he had now given the
commaund of himselfe and of his armes.

Eric. Our customes and those of the antient Germans
have much resemblance; butt I never heard so good obser-
vations uppon the ceremonies of a wedding as your excel-
lence hath made.

Wh. I am delighted with these antiquities; butt your
excellence shoves your opinion to be of a brother.

From Grave Eric, Whitelocke went to visit the senator
Scute, and Lynde, who lodged in one house, and mett him
att the doore; and this day he made seaven visits, besides
his attendance uppon the queen, hastening to gett over
these matters of complement and ceremony, that he might
be uppon his journey to Stockholme.

Whitelocke visited generall Douglas, who had bin to 16.
visit him before, and now showed great respect unto him,
and gave him many thankes for the english horse which
Whitelocke had bestowed on him.

1654. After this, Whitelocke visited the ricks admirall, and the
 May 16. senators Rosenham and Bundt.

In the afternoon he visited Woolfeldt, who brought Whitelocke into the roome where his lady and other ladies of great quality were with her. Whitelocke imagined some designe to be heerin, bicause it was a thing so unusuall to bring gentlemen, and strangers, into the company of their ladies; and it fell out to be so, for Whitelocke discoursing with the lady Woolfeldt, who spake perfect french, she complained, that she knew not where to have a place to see the entry of the prince into Upsale. Whitelocke knowing his house to be conveniently scituate for that purpose, and understanding the lady's complaint, he, to free her from the daunger of not seeing that solemnity, offered to her, and to the rest of the ladies in her company, to command his house, which if they pleased to honor with their presence to see the entry of the prince, he should take it as a great favour from their excellencies; and the ladies readily accepted of his offer.

They presently came to Whitelocke's house: with the lady Woolfeldt was the countesse John Oxenstierne, the countesse Eric Oxenstierne, the countesse Tot, the baronesse Guildensterne, and seven or eight other ladies of great quality.

Before the prince came into the town, Whitelocke caused a collation to be sett on the table for the ladies, all after the english fashion, creames, tarts, butter, cheese, neats touniges, potted venison, apples, pearces, sweet meates, and excellent wine: they ate heartily, and seemed to be much pleased with it, and with the ambassador's discourse, who strove

strove to be cheerfull with the ladyes, and found it not unacceptable to them.

1654.
May 16.

The prince's entry and reception into Upsale this evening was thus :

The day before, by the queen's commaund, notice was given to all the senators, the nobility, gentry, and persons of quality about the court and in towne, to come in their best equipage on horseback, att one a'clocke this afternoone to the castle, to attend the queen on her going out to meet the prince. They accordingly resorted to the court, a very great number, and attended the queen forth in this order, all passing and returning by Whitelocke's windowe.

First, generall major Wrangell marched in the head of four troupes of horse of Upland, proper men, and well armed, their horses not tall, butt stronge : every horseman carryed ready in his hand one of his pistolls, and his sword by his side ; and most of them were well habited.

Then marched collonell Bengt Horne, in the head of the gentlemen, and servants of the senators, and other volunteers, marching three and three a breast.

After these, rode about six of the queen's kettle drummes, and twelve trumpetts.

Then came Monf. Eric Flemming, governor of Copperbergh, marshall of the nobility, followed by the heads of the families of the nobles, in the same order as they are matriculated in the ricksdagh : they were generally very rich in clothes, and well horsed, lords and gentlemen of principall note and consideration in their countrey, and mem-

1654. members of the ricksdagh; they also rode three and three a
May 16. breast.

After them, rode Monf. Gabriel Gabrielson, marshall of the court, and was followed by all the senators then in towne, being about thirty, riding two and two a breast; grave in their habits for the most part, and well horsed.

Then came the ricks stalle-master, and the hof stalle-master, that is, the master of the horse of the kingdome, and the master of the horse of the court, riding bare-headed.

After them came the queen, gallantly mounted, habited in her usuall fashion, in grey stuffe, her hatt on her head, her pistolls att her saddle bowe, and twenty-four of the gardes du corps about her person.

After the queen, followed the great chamberlaine Grave Jacob de la Guardie, and Grave Tot, capitaine of the guards, both bare-headed.

After them, the Grave Donae, Gustaff Oxenstierne, and Gustaff Jean Banier, riding bare-headed.

Then rode all the gentlemen of the queen's chamber; then the pages of her chamber.

After them, in the last place, marched collonell Line, in the head of fower companies of the guards, well armed, and indifferently well habited.

In this order they marched about halfe a league out of 1654.
town, to the place appointed to meet the prince, who was ^{May 16.}
there attending.

When they came thither, generall major Wrangell marched to the left, leaving sufficient roome that the guards might passe to the right hand; the voluntiers and queen's servants likewise turned to the left hand, and the marshall of the nobility to the right, with the hof marshalls; and all this trayne kept excellent order and discipline, as did the prince's trayne, which was also very great.

The prince was alighted from his horse, before the queen came very neer to him; when the queen alighted, all the senators likewise alighted from their horses, butt the nobility did not alight from horseback.

After his royall highnes had kissed the queen's hand, she discoursed a little with him, he being bare-headed all the time, and showing great respect to her as to his queen.

Then the queen mounted agayne on horseback, the prince waiting on her; the troupes marched backe to the towne in the same order as they came forth, with great addition to their numbers: the prince's gentlemen and servants, who were a great number, fell into the troupe where those of the queen were, betwixt her gentlemen and the senators gentlemen; his pages after the queen's. Himselfe rode after the queen, and sometimes she would call him (as she did in the street) to speake with him, and then he rode even with her; butt all the way bare-headed whilst he rode by the queen, and she talked with him.

The

1654. The prince was in a plaine grey cloth suit, of a light
 ~~~~~ colour, mounted uppon a very brave grey horse, with pistolls  
 May 16. att his faddle, and his sworde by his side: the queen's lac-  
 quays were in rich yellow liveryes, the prince's lacquays in  
 blew liveryes, neer twenty, walking by them.

There were many ledde horses of the queen's and of the  
 prince's, and seven or eight sumpter horses of the prince's;  
 the sumpter clothes all of blew velvet, with the prince's  
 armes imbroidered on them, and rich silver fringe about  
 them; the groomes and sumpter men in the same livery,  
 about twenty of them.

In this equipage they marched through the streets of Ub-  
 sale, multitudes of people being spectators of their entry,  
 in the wayes and windowes. When they came to the castle  
 court, the nobility and voluntiers alighted, and walked two  
 and two, before the queen, up into the great hall, and to  
 the antichamber; and the queen being come into her with-  
 drawing roome, after some little discourse there with the  
 prince and complements passed, he went to the lodgings  
 prepared for him, with not a few waiting on him, who was  
 the rising sunne.

Whitelocke had spoken to the master of the ceremonies,  
 touching the saluting of the prince and the manner of his  
 reception, wherof he wished to know somewhat before hand,  
 to governe himselfe accordingly, and to avoyd any indignity  
 or dishonor to be putt uppon the protector and common-  
 wealth by his person. The master having spoken to the  
 prince about it, brought word now to Whitelocke, that,  
 when he moved his royall highnes touching Whitelocke's  
 reception, the prince said, that the english ambassador should  
 have



have no cause to complaine of any want of respect in his reception.

1654.

May 16.

The more to manifest this, about ten a'clocke this evening, the prince sent one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber, who came, attended with three lacquayes, and spake to Whitelocke in french; that the prince, his master, commanded him to salute Whitelocke in his name, and to informe him of the prince's arrivall in this place, and that it was a great satisfaction to him to hope, that he should have the contentment to see the english ambassador, and to entertaine him before his departure from Sweden.

Whitelocke desired, that his thankes might be returned to his royall highnes for this honor, and that he hoped to obtaine from him the favour to give him leave to salute him, and to kisse his hand; that to doe this on the part of the protector his master was, att present, the only occasion of Whitelocke's continuance in this place; and for this end he had moved the master of the ceremonies to know the pleasure of his royall highnes, and to informe Whitelocke what time might be convenient to waite uppon the prince. The gentleman replied, that Whitelocke's company would be very acceptable to the prince his master, and he doubted not butt an account would be given therof to Whitelocke, to his full contentment.

Whitelocke had sent this day to Grave John Oxenstierne, to know what time he might give him a visit, and the Grave returned a proud answer, that it would not yet be convenient.

The resident of Holland came to visit Whitelocke neer dinner time, which gave him occasion to invite his stay;

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and

17.



1654. and he and Sir G. Fletewood, Mr. Bloome, colonell Ham-  
 May 17. bleton, Monsieur Lillycroon, and two Dutch gentlemen,  
 did Whitelocke the favour to be att his table. Whitelocke  
 gave the resident the respect of the upper end of the table,  
 as he had formerly done to the french and spanish residents;  
 and the dutch gentleman was well pleased with it, and with  
 the english intertainment.

Whitelocke, having received so great a respect from the  
 prince, did againe desire the master of the ceremonies to  
 know, what time might suit with the prince's leisure to give  
 Whitelocke leave to waite on him.

This afternoon the master came to Whitelocke, and in-  
 formed him, that the prince had appointed four a'clocke  
 this afternoon to give Whitelocke audience; and the master  
 sayd, that he would come with the queen's coaches to bring  
 Whitelocke to the castle when it was time; and accord-  
 ingly he came between five and six a'clocke this evening.  
 Whitelocke and his company went with the master to the  
 castle, and as soon as he was alighted out of his coach, he  
 was received by the marshall and gentlemen of the prince,  
 a great number of them, att the foote of the stayres; some of  
 them were very richly habited.

They walked first up the stayres, and those of Whitelocke's  
 trayne followed them; the master of the ceremonies was on  
 Whitelocke's left hand: when they came to the guard cham-  
 ber, the prince in person came thither to receive Whitelocke  
 att the doore therof, the same place where the captain of  
 the queen's guard used to meet and receive Whitelocke; who  
 was a little surpris'd, not expecting such a high favour as  
 to be met by the prince so farre from the roome of au-  
 dience.

The



The prince was plaine in his habit of black silke, accom- 1654.  
 panyed by a great number of the senators, officers, and nobility, which caused Whitelocke to know him, and with May 17.  
 due respect to salute him, as he did Whitelocke; and after a few complements between them, the prince desired Whitelocke to advance, who excused himselfe, butt the prince pressed it: the contest was almost halfe an hower, who should goe first, till the master of the ceremonies, by command of the prince, whispered to Whitelocke to give way to the pleasure of the prince, who was resolved to give Whitelocke the precedence, therby to testify the great respect and honor which he had for the protector, and for Whitelocke his servant.

Theruppon Whitelocke said to the prince, that since he understood it to be the pleasure of his royall highnes, he would obey his commaunds; and so they went on together, the prince giving Whitelocke the right hand; and there was no occasion (by reason of the largenes of the doores) for one to goe before the other.

In the third roome, from the place where the prince mett Whitelocke, was the audience chamber; there were sett two rich chayres uppon foot carpets, one against the other, under a canopy of state: heer was also much ceremony between the prince and Whitelocke, who should take the right hand chayre; butt the prince would have Whitelocke to sitt there; and the roome was full of senators, officers, noblemen, courtiers, and others of quality.

Whitelocke had advised in what language to speake to the prince. He held it not sitt to speake in english, bicause he came not to him as ambassador, nor in latin, there being nothing of treaty between them; butt being a matter of



1654. <sup>May 17.</sup> ceremonie, he was advised and informed, that it was the prince's desire that Whitelocke should speake to him in french, the which he understood very well: and accordingly, being both sett, and their hatts on, after a little pause, Whitelocke putt off his hatt, and then the prince did so likewise; then both putting on their hatts agayne, Whitelocke spake to the prince to this effect \*.

\* See appendix U for translation.

“ Mon Seigneur,

“ Je repute a grand bon heur l'opportunité qui m'est  
 “ présentée de baïser les mains de vostre Altesse royale, et  
 “ la saluer de la part de mon seigneur le protecteur de la re-  
 “ publique d'Angleterre, d'Escoffe, et d'Irlande, avant mon  
 “ depart de ce royaume; ce que j'eusse fait plus tost, et en  
 “ autre lieu sinon que la necessité d'attendre l'issue de ce qui  
 “ m'a este donné en charge m'en avoit empesché: mais  
 “ depuis sa conclusion, j'ai tardé expres pour adjouster à  
 “ ma satisfaction, celle d'avoir rendu mes devoirs à vostre  
 “ Altesse royale, et lui tesmoigner l'amitie et les respects de  
 “ sa serenissime Altesse mon maistre.”

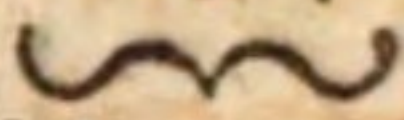
After Whitelocke had done speaking, the prince stayed a little time, and then in french answered him to this purpose \*.

\* See appendix X for translation.

“ Mon Seigneur l'Ambassadeur,

“ Ce m'auroit esté un grand trouble si apres la conclusion  
 “ de vos affayres en ceste court, vous aviez esté dans l'in-  
 “ convenience d'attendre mon arrivée en ceste place; je  
 “ suis bien aise de me trouver ici devant vostre depart de ce  
 “ païs, qui m'a donné le contentement de vous cognoistre,  
 “ et l'occasion de tesmoigner le grand respect que j'ai à mon  
 “ seigneur le protecteur et à la republique que vous servez,



“ et je reçois beaucoup de satisfaction q’une amitié et alliance 1654.  
 “ soit contractée entre ce royaume et vostre republique, de   
 “ laquelle j’espere et crois qu’elle fera pour le bien des May 17..  
 “ deux nations, et pour l’intérêt des protestants.

“ Il n’y a personne qui a plus d’estime de mon seigneur  
 “ le protecteur que moi, et de vostre republique, et j’ai  
 “ tant entendu de vostre honorable et prudent maniement  
 “ des affayres que vous aviez ici, que ce m’a fait desirer de  
 “ vous cognoistre et d’avoir l’opportunité de converser avec  
 “ vous, que vous m’avez presentement alloüée, et je vous  
 “ en remercie, et pour les respects de mon seigneur le pro-  
 “ tecteur, que vous a pleu me presenter en son nom, et  
 “ qui me sont fort agréables.”

After the speeches were ended, the prince spake to White-  
 locke to goe with him into his cabinet, which he did, and  
 stayed discoursing there with him above an hower together,  
 all the company staying in the outer-roome: they soon fell  
 into a freedome of discourse, butt att this time chiefly con-  
 cerning the affayres of England, the peace with the Dutch,  
 and the english fleet now att sea; also somewhat in perticular  
 to the protector, his management of affayres, and of their  
 late troubles; in all which Whitelocke indeavoured to give  
 the prince satisfaction, without doing injury to any one.

The prince brought Whitelocke back againe to the same  
 place where he mett him; and his servants went with him  
 to his coach, and the master of the ceremonies brought him  
 to his owne house.

After Whitelocke was returned home, Lagerfeldt came to  
 him and told him, that the prince was very much pleased  
 with the discourse between them, and with Whitelocke’s de-  
 portment: and Lagerfeldt said, he believed that the prince  
 would visit Whitelocke to-morrow; who said, he could not  
 expect



1654. expect such an honor, butt was glad that any thing of his  
 ~~~~~  
 May 17. discourse was gratefull to his royall highnes.

Lagerfeldt informed Whitelocke, that Grave Eric and Lagerfeldt were to goe to Stockholme uppon some publique occasions, by commaund of the ricksdagh. Whitelocke asked him what the buisnes was; butt Lagerfeldt was not forward to declare it, nor Whitelocke to presse it: butt he learned from another, that the ricksdagh had deputed two of every state to goe to Stockholme, to extract, out of the publique records and acts, the speciall priviledges graunted to the people att the coronation of any king, and of the present queen, which they judged fitt to be now considered and ratified before the coronation of their new king. They were also to bring hither the acts of the ricksdagh, when the prince was declared heir of the crown, and such other things as pertained to this buisnes.

Whitelocke desired Lagerfeldt to doe somewhat for him att Stockholme, touching the sending away of his copper from thence for England.

18. The ladies, who were att Whitelocke's house to see the entry of the prince, sent thankes to Whitelocke for his noble treatment of them, which was done by Woolfeldt and the master of the ceremonies, whom Whitelocke desired to make his excuse to the ladies, and to intercede with them to pardon the affront, which Whitelocke had putt uppon them, by intertaining such noble ladies with so meane a collation. The master said, he durst not deliver any such message to them, who were so well pleased with Whitelocke's treatment of them; which appeared the more in that the lady Woolfeldt sent to him to bestow uppon her, being great with childe, some of his english cheese. Whitelocke sent her all he

he had left, and to other ladyes what they desired, his english sweet-meates and other cakes, which with them were of great esteeme. 1654.
May 18.

Whitelocke having this forenoone visited severall senators and great lords, and being returned home, a servant of the prince, a baron of great esteem, came to him from the prince, to know if Whitelocke's leisure would permit to receive a visit from his royall highnes in the afternoone. Whereunto Whitelocke answered, that, if the prince had any service to commaund him, he would waite upon his royall highnes att his court; the baron replied, that the prince intended a visit to Whitelocke att Whitelocke's house, who said he could not expect nor admitt of such a condescension in the prince and high favour to him, butt that he would waite upon the prince in the afternoone: the baron said, that must not be, butt that it was the resolution of the prince, to testify that extraordinary respect to the protector and to Whitelocke, as to come in person to visit Whitelocke att his own house; who said, that, if it were the pleasure of the prince to have it so, he should attend the receiving of that great honor att such time, as his royall highnes should thinke fitt to afford it to him.

Woolfeldt, and Douglas, and severall others, being with Whitelocke att dinner, they discoursed of this extraordinary high respect of the prince to the protector, and to Whitelocke; and said, that it was partly occasioned by the exceptions taken by the publique ministers in this court att the reception which the prince gave unto Whitelocke yesterday, beyond what he used to afford them of respect and honor: and this coming to the prince's eare, he said, that if they were offended with him for that, he would yett give them further cause of being displeased, and therupon sent
to

1654. to Whitelocke, that he would this afternoon visit him ; they
May 18. also informed Whitelocke, as Lagerfeldt had done, that the
prince was much satisfied with the discourse of Whitelocke
and his demeanor.

About three a'clocke in the afternoone the prince came to Whitelocke's house, attended with a very great traine : he was in one of the queen's coaches, which was followed by severall of his own coaches, all with six horses a-piece, and fundry gentlemen on horseback, with the principall officers of the court, and of the army ; besides his own gentlemen, officers, servants, pages, and lacquayes, to a great number, waiting on him.

It fell out to be on the day of a fayre, kept in the open place before Whitelocke's house ; so that, with the people coming to the fayre, and the prince's traine, the streets were exceedingly crowded.

As the prince alighted out of his coach, Whitelocke was there to receive him ; all the gentlemen of Whitelocke's traine attending on him, and his servants in livery making a lane, about twenty on each hand, from the prince's coach to Whitelocke's house, through which the prince and he passed ; Whitelocke giving the prince the right hand, which he scrupled not to take in that place. They went together covered into Whitelocke's house, sate down in his bed-chamber, and fell into much freedome of discourse for above two howers together. In the meane time, the lords and gentlemen of the prince's traine, being in severall other roomes, according to their respective qualities, Whitelocke had taken order to be intertained by his officers and servants, not only with discourse, butt with good wine brought from

from England, and such collation as was then to be had, 1654.
and was pleasing to them.

May 18.

The prince and Whitelocke had variety of discourses; and Whitelocke looking upon this as an opportunity, whereby he might speake in such things as might tend to the honor of God, and which his own subjects perhaps would not so plainly make known to him, Whitelocke used the more freedome, and part of their discourse was:

Pr. I am very glad that your affayres have permitted you a stay in this place so long as to give me the opportunity of your company, wherein I take much contentment.

Wh. Your royall highnes doth very much honor me, in esteeming my company worth your notice; and heerin you are pleased to testify great respect to the protector my master, and to the common-wealth whom I serve.

Pr. I have a very true honor for the protector, and for England, where I have bin, and account it one of the best countryes in the world.

Wh. It is indeed, Sir, a very good countrey, and honored by your knowledge of it, and having bin upon it.

Pr. Butt I doubt that, by your late troubles, it may be much damaged.

Wh. Truely, Sir, God hath so ordered it, that these desolations, which usually attend on war, especially a civill war, have not bin so much in our countrey as others have felt, who have bin plunged in those miseryes.

1654. *Pr.* It is a great blessing to you, especially considering
 May 18. your change hath bin so great, and your troubles so lasting.

Wh. Our troubles indured a long time ; butt, blessed be God, att present we injoy peace and settlement after our changes. The discourse heer is now altogether of the voluntary change like to be in your highnes's countrey.

Pr. Her majesty is pleased to take a resolution to resigne her government, and I am commaunded hither uppon that occasion, though altogether unfought for by me.

Wh. You are, Sir, every way worthy of it, and the more for not seeking it ; and being the will of God is to bring you to such an increase of power, as to the royall dignity, it will turne most to your own, and your people's good, to imploy your power to the honor of him that gives it, and to preferre his service by whom kings reigne, before any other concernements.

Pr. I must acknowledge that, throughout the whole course of my life, God hath bin very good to me ; and I am the more ingaged to honor him, and to doe him service, in any station wherein he shall be pleased to sett me.

Wh. Your royall highness will be pleased to pardon my freedome of speaking to you, what I understand may be most for the honor of God, and your service.

Pr. Such discourse is most pleasing to me, especially from a person of such piety and honor, as I esteem you to be, and who can have no private ends therby.

Wh.

Wh. We have observed in England, and it is so every 1654.
where, that the blessing of God followes those that serve 
him. May 18.

Pr. That is a true rule ; butt our service must be in heart,
and not in profession or outward shew only.

Wh. It is true, that the ennemies of the parlement use
to reproach them with hippocrisy in their profession of re-
ligion, and with their preaching to their foldiers ; yett, that
our profession is reall, doth appear somwhat in this, that the
blessing of God hath accompanied our profession, and our
practise : and when our ennemies are in debauchery, and
injuring the people, our officers and soldiers meet together,
exhorting one another out of the scripture, and praying to-
gether ; and God hath given his blessing theruppon.

Pr. I doe very well approve that course, and your pro-
fession and practice in matters of religion ; butt we heare of
too much difference of opinion among you in those matters.

Wh. We have indeed too much difference of opinion
among us in matters of religion ; butt yett the publique
peace is not broken, butt carefully preserved.

Pr. Butt if there be not an uniformity among you in
those matters, your peace will be indaangered.

Wh. We doe not yett find that daunger ; and we looke
uppon it as a liberty, due to all christians, to take what way
of worship they thinke best for the good of their own souls.

Pr. Suppose the way they take be not agreeable to the
word of God ?

1654.

May 18.]

Wh. The consequence therof will be their own misery.

Pr. Butt should not the magistrate leade them and constrain them in the right way?

Wh. We hold the better way to be, by meeke exhortations and instructions, to indeavour to reclayme them from any error, and not by force to compell mens consciences, as is used in these parts.

Pr. What if mild means will not worke uppon them?

Wh. They will have the worst of it; butt as long as they doe not breake the publique peace, it is hard for the magistrate imperiously to commaund and force his brethren to worship God after his opinion; and it is not imaginable that he should take more care of mens souls than they themselves, whose consciences ought to be free.

Pr. We are somewhat strict in this point in our countrey.

Wh. Butt I have heard that your royall highnes hath showed moderation, and indulged this liberty in other countreys where you commaunded.

Pr. I did not think fitt to be so severe in this point in Germany, as we are in Sweden.

Wh. I thinke your highnes did therin according to the mind of God, who will not have a restraint uppon his children in the worship of him; and I hope you will in time take off the severity of your lawes heer in this perticular.

Pr.

Pr. I am no friend to severity of lawes uppon mens consciences ; butt reformation among us is not soon to be brought about, where there hath bin a long usage of the contrary.

1654.

May 18.

Wh. In England we have of late obtained great reformation in many things, perticularly touching the observation of the *Lord's day* ; and pardon me, Sir, if I wish the like reformation in this kingdome, and that the *Lord's day* were not so much neglected, nay prophaned, as I have seen in this place. I hope, and humbly advise your royall highnes, that, when God shall place you in the soveraignty over this people, you will take care to provide a remedy and reformation heerin, and also of that sin of excessive drinking and swearing, with which the people are so much infected, and which may cause a feare, lest the anger of God should goe forth against this nation ; butt it will be very much in your power to apply a fitt remedy to these evils, and doubtles God will require it att your hands, as his vicegerent.

Pr. I have not heard many foldiers discourse in this straine ; butt I like it well, and it becomes you, and I hope God will assist me, if he shall call me to the government of this people, to acquit my duety to him, and to his people, for the restraining of these sins, which, I acknowledge, are too common among us.

Wh. In doing so, you will render service to God, and find his blessing to accompany such most pious, most honorable, and truely royall indeavors ; and I hope your highnes will not thinke, amisse of this liberty which your servant hath taken to speake to you of these things.

Pr.

1654. *Pr.* I am so farre from thinking amisse of it, or taking
 May 18. in ill part what you have said to me, that I doe most heartily
 thanke you for it, and doe promise that I shall be mindfull
 to putt in practice the good counsell you have given me, as
 soon as it shall please God to give me an opportunity for it,
 and that the temper of this people will beare it; being con-
 vinced of the duety which lyes uppon me heerin, and the
 service and honor which will therby be done to God, and
 to the people of this kingdome, both in respect to their
 temporall and eternall estate.

Wh. I am very glad to find your royall highnes so sensible
 heerof, and shall humbly and earnestly leave it to your
 thoughts.

Pr. I hope I shall not forgett it.

They had other discourse touching the princes and states
 of Christendome, perticularly of the house of Austria, and
 of the designe of the papists against the protestants; the
 which, and the increase of the interest of Rome, White-
 locke said, could not be better prevented then by a con-
 junction of the protestants; to which the prince fully
 agreed.

The prince tooke his leave of Whitelocke, with very great
 respect and civility.

After the prince was gone, there came to Whitelocke
 Grave Eric Oxenstierne, and Lagerfeldt, to take their leaves
 of Whitelocke, they being to goe to Stockholme by com-
 maund of the ricksdagh; and Grave Eric gave unto White-
 locke a paper in french of damage sustained by a swedish
 ship taken and brought into London, which he recom-
 mended

mended to Whitelocke to be a means that satisfaction might be procured.

1654.

May 18.

Whitelocke being informed, that now, att the court, among other solemnities and intertainements to wellcome the prince, the gallants used the exercise and recreation of running att the ringe, a pleasure noble and usefull as to military affayres, improving horsemanship, and teaching the guidance of the launce, a weapon still used by horsemen in these parts of the world; this generous exercise having been in use in England in Whitelocke's memory, who had seen the lords, in presence of the king and queen, and a multitude of spectators, in the tilt-yards att Whitehall, and att St. James's house, where the king, when he was prince, used also that recreation: it made Whitelocke the more desirous to see the same againe, and whither, as they used it heer, it were the same with that he had seen in England. He went incognito in the coach of generall Douglas, without any of his trayne, to the place where the running att the ring was.

He would not goe into the roome where the queen, and prince, and great lords were, butt fate below in a roome where the judges of the course were, with divers other gentlemen; who though they knew Whitelocke very well, yett seeing him cast his cloake over his shoulder, as desiring not to be knowne, they would take no notice of him; a civility in these and other countryes usuall.

The senator Vanderlin, Grave Tot, and the baron Steinbergh, were the challengers to all the rest; and of the other part were marshall Wrangell, Grave Jacob de la Garde, and nine or ten others: all were well mounted; Wrangell
uppon

1654. uppon an english horſe, given him by Whitelocke ; their
 May 18. cloathes, ſcarfes, feathers, and all accoutrements, both of
 men and horſe, were very gallant.

They ran for a prize which the queen had ordained, and they comported themſelves with much activenes and bravery ; and it was the ſame exerciſe which Whitelocke had formerly ſeen in his own countrey.

19. Woolfeldt viſited Whitelocke in the morning, and brought with him a paper concerning the Sundt, written in french with his own hand ; wherin he ſhowed much affection to the protector and to England, and as much diſtaſt to his own countrey : the paper Whitelocke layd up and tranſcribed in a larger treatiſe.

Woolfeldt acquainted Whitelocke, that the publique miniſters in this court diſcourſed much of the extraordinary reſpect ſhewed by the prince to the english ambaffador, both in his reception and the prince's viſit to him. And perticularly the danish ambaffador was greatly diſcontented, and ſaid, that never any ambaffador had that honor done him before, and it was ſo farre beyond what he had received, that he knew not how to beare it ; that the intertainment of publique miniſters of the ſame character ought to be with the ſame ceremony, and not one to be preferred, ſo much as the english ambaffador had bin, before others of equall quality with him ; and much matter of complaint of that nature : which being reported to the prince, he ſaid, that neither the danish ambaffador, nor any other publique miniſter, had cauſe to complaine, that he had not given them the reſpect due to their ſeverall qualities ; and if he, out of a perticular affection to the english protector and ambaffador, had a mind to expreſſe more than ordinary perticular reſpects

spects to them, it was no wrong or cause of complaint to any other publique minister, who had what was due to him, ^{1654.} ^{May 19.} because another had perhaps more then was due to him; and he said, he understood not why his condition should render him lesse capable then other gentlemen to shew particular respects, where they did beare a particular affection.

Generall Douglas, a scottish gentleman, in great favour and honor in this countrey, came late this year to the court, being hindered by a violent ague uppon his coming hither: he made frequent visits to Whitelocke, and expressed much of respect and civility to him as his countryman.

This day Whitelocke was to dine with Douglas by a solemn invitation; and, during the whole time of his residence in this court, he never was invited to any of their tables, butt now to Douglas, and before to Grave Eric, notwithstanding the freedome of his table to most of them.

With Whitelocke were invited his two sons, Potley, Beake, and Croke; there they mett Grave John Oxenstierne, Wrangell, Wittenbergh, Bundt, Horne, Vanderlin, colonell Bannier, and one of the prince's servants; of these, that thus mett, nine had bin in commission as generalls, two of the English, and of the Swedes seven, which was noted as very observable.

They sate at table in the same manner as they did at Grave Eric's intertainement; Whitelocke in the midst of the table, the company in their rankes on either side, and all the dinner they sate bare.

The intertainment was very high and noble, as could be had in this place, and four courses very full, which made a

1654. long dinner, in which time Whitelocke was solicited often
 May 19. to begin and pledge healths, which he would not doe, butt
 left others to their liberty, as he desired his. The healths
 they dranke among themselves were in large beer glasses of
 sacke, which made them discourse the more freely; and most
 of it was of England and the late troubles there, of per-
 ticular passages of the warre, of Scotland, of the fleet now
 att sea, and the dutch treaty; in all which Whitelocke gave
 them some satisfaction, as they did to him, touching the
 queen's resignation, the present ricksdagh, and the new king's
 coronation.

The same gentleman, who had bin before from the prince
 with Whitelocke, a baron of great account, first gentleman
 of the prince's bed-chamber, a proper well accomplished
 person, came to Whitelocke, by commaund of the prince,
 with remembrance of his highnes's hearty respects and
 affection to Whitelocke: after some complements past, the
 baron tooke out of his pockett a little boxe of crimson
 velvet, and told Whitelocke, that his royall highnes had
 commaunded him to present to Whitelocke that token of
 the prince's love and respects to him; and, opening the boxe,
 showed to Whitelocke a noble jewell, a case of gold, enam-
 melled; the one side of it sett thicke all over with diamonds,
 some of them fayre ones; and on the other side was the
 prince's picture, lively and well taken.

The baron said to Whitelocke, that the prince desired his
 excuse, bicause, in so short a time, he could not procure a
 better present; butt he desired Whitelocke to accept of this
 as a testimony of his affection to him.

Whitelocke answered, that he had not merited so much
 favour from his royall highnes, butt desired the baron to re-
 turne

turne his hearty thanks to the prince, which he would also doe himselfe, when he had the honor to come in his presence. 1654.
May 19.

Upon this occasion Whitelocke tooke account of the presents which he had in this court, besides the severall and many gratuities and rewards which he had formerly bestowed on many of the queen's inferior servants, as musitians, guards, pages, lacquays, trumpetts, coachmen, wardrobe men, and others; to whom he had bin liberall, to a considerable some, necessary in his judgement to be done for the honor of his nation, and agreeable to what had bin constantly by ambassadors there before him.

Besides these smaller matters, first, he sent to the queen eight blacke english stone horses, very handsome, large, brave, and usefull horses for the coach, and now in good case; four saddle horses he had formerly presented to her, all of them were in this place worth to be solde 1000 l. The looking glasse, which he gave the queen when she was his valentine, was worth 100 l. besides an english bible richly bound, english stufes, a cabinet of spirits, and other smaller presents.

The queen's officers gave no reward to Whitelocke's gentleman of his horse, the clerke of his stable, or to his coachman and people that carryed them, though it was presumed that the queen had ordered it, as she had done upon other the like occasions.

To the prince Whitelocke presented seven bay english stone horses, very handsome and serviceable for the coach; for which the prince returned many thanks, being most acceptable to him, as he exprest, and sent a chayne of gold

1654. of the value of 200 ducketts to captain Crispe, yeoman of
 May 19. Whitelocke's stables, and twenty-five ducketts to the servants
 of Whitelocke's stable. To the prince Whitelocke also pre-
 sented a young english guelding of Fenwicke's breed, very
 handsome and mettlesome; the more esteemed by White-
 locke, and afterwards by the prince, when he heard that it
 had bin given to Whitelocke by his generall.

To the old chancellor Whitelocke presented a hogthead of
 good Canary wine, and a sober, handsome, strong, well-
 paced english padde nagge, and one of his richest saddles:
 to Wrangell he gave an english guelding; to Tot another;
 to Wittenbergh another; to Steinbergh another; to Douglas
 another; and to such of the great men as the queen directed.

To Lagerfeldt he gave a clocke, excellently made, which
 he used to have constantly with him.

To secretary Canterstein, he sent his secretary Earle, with
 a silver standish, curiously wrought; att sight of which
 Canterstein seemed much discontented, till Earle showed
 him the manner of opening the standish, and in it forty
 pieces of english gold, of Jacobusses, which made the pre-
 sent very acceptable.

In like manner, Whitelocke sent to the master of the
 ceremonies an english bever hatt, with a gold hat-band,
 and a payre of rich english gloves; att which the master
 seemed offended, saying, that ambassadors used to send
 better presents to the master of ceremonies; butt, being de-
 fired to trye if the gloves would fitt him, he found therein
 forty twenty shilling pieces of english gold, and thereby
 much satisfaction in the present.

To

To Grave Eric's lady, Whitelocke presented a clocke of 1654. the new make, to hang by the wall, sett in ebony, with ^{May 19,} rich studdes of silver.

To la Belle Comtesse, the lady Jane Ruthen, and other ladyes, he presented english gloves, ribbons, filke stockins, and the like, which are of great account with them.

All the presents, given away by Whitelocke in this court, were estimated above 3000 l. and the jewells and copper bestowed on him were neer the same value; so that none could accuse him to be a receiver of rewards, or that he had enriched himselfe by this imployment.

Whitelocke had desired this day another audience of the prince, to take his leave; and towards the evening, the master of the ceremonies came with two of the queen's coaches, and brought Whitelocke to the prince's lodging, who received him with the like or greater respect than he had done before; they went directly together to the prince's cabinet, where two chayres were sett. They discoursed about halfe an hower uppon the same subjects as their last discourse was; and now also Whitelocke earnestly advised the prince to those things, which would tend to the honor of God and to the reformation of disorders, drunkennes, swearing, and prophanation of the *Lord's day*, which, Whitelocke told him, God would require att his hands to see reformed, when he should be called to the government of this kingdome, with much to the like effect; esteeming it seasonable for him to take this opportunity of pressing these things to the prince, as he also did liberty of conscience, and what he hoped was for promoting the interest of Christ in these countryes.

The

1654. The prince gave good eare to these things, and seemed
 ~~~~~  
 May 19. sensible of what was sayd to him; and, by his answers,  
 gave hopes, that, when he should come to the opportunity,  
 he would indeavor the reformation of those great reigning  
 sins in his countrey, wherof he professed his own detestation.

Whitelocke going to take his leave, the prince desired him to stay longer, as pleased with the discourse on this subject; butt Whitelocke was desired by the master of the ceremonies not to continue longer with the prince, bicause the queen stayed within purposely for Whitelocke's comming to her: att his parting, the prince desired Whitelocke to testify his respects to the protector and common-wealth of England; and told Whitelocke, that he might assure himselfe of a most intire affection to his person, from the prince, who wished him a happy returne to his own countrey.

From the prince Whitelocke made a visit to the queen; Grave Tot conducted him to her bed-chamber, where they discoursed about halfe an hower touching her majesty's affayres.

She againe mentioned her purpose of going to the Spae, and to goe thither by land; she desired Whitelocke not to speake much of it: she said, that perhaps she might yett see him at Stockholme; butt, if she did not, that she would write a letter to the protector, and send it thither to Whitelocke, uppon the subject of which they had formerly spoken.

Whitelocke advised her, as he had done before, and promised to take care of her letter to the protector, and to improve his interest the best he could, for effecting what her majesty desired, in case there should be occasion for it.



She thanked Whitelocke for his advice, wherewith she 1654.  
 seemed to be pleased, and resolved to observe it; and ex-  
 pressed very great respect and affection to the protector, and <sup>May 19.</sup>  
 to Whitelocke, whom she desired to assure the protector, in  
 her majesty's name, of the sincere affection and honor which  
 she did beare him, and which she should continue in what-  
 soever condition she should be: she wished Whitelocke a  
 happy voyage, and with many complements, full of great  
 respect and civility, butt not so chearfull as formerly; she  
 twice gave him her hand to kisse, and so tooke leave of  
 him.

From the court, Whitelocke went and visited the chan-  
 cellor, and delivered to him (what he had before promised  
 and was putt in mind to doe), an ingagement under his  
 hand to procure a supply of the defect of power, which  
 they excepted to in his commission: the ingagement was  
 thus.

“ Polliceor planam me mihi potentiam ac facultatem  
 “ procuraturum à sua serenissima celsitudine domino meo,  
 “ domino protectore reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hi-  
 “ berniæ, intra trimestre spatium ab appulsu meo in quem-  
 “ libet portum Angliæ, ad supplendum qualemcunq; de-  
 “ fectum facultatis ac potentiæ mihi antehac datæ, ad trac-  
 “ tandum cum serenissima majestæte sua regina Sueciæ,  
 “ aut commissariis suis, et ad rata habenda omnia, quæ inter  
 “ majestatem suam, vel suos commissarios, et me conclusa  
 “ fuerint. Datum Upsaliæ 18. Maii, anno Domini 1654 \*.”

\* See ap-  
 pendix Y  
 for trans-  
 lation.

“ BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.”

The chancellor and Whitelocke fell into discourse touch-  
 ing their rickidagh; part wherof follows.

Wh.



1654. *Wh.* I received much satisfaction in the favour of being  
 May 19. admitted to see the manner of the meeting and proceedings of  
 your ricksdagh, and shall be glad to be instructed by you  
 touching some of the passages of it.

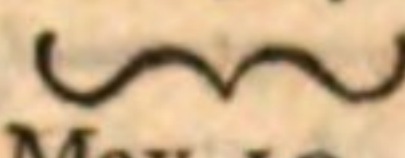
*Ch.* I shall be ready to informe you the best I can in these  
 matters ; and I have had some experience in them.

*Wh.* In that, and all other matters touching the governe-  
 ment of this kingdom, I believe no man's experience or  
 judgement will be opposed to yours: I pray, father, lett me  
 know the ground of propofalls being made by the queen to  
 the ricksdagh, and whither it be, as I have heard, that they  
 consult of nothing butt what is first proposed to them by  
 the queen.

*Ch.* That is very true, and is the ground of our quiet,  
 and of avoyding factions among us ; for where a councill  
 consists of 700 or 800 men, as our ricksdagh doth, and  
 they hold themselves to have an equall liberty and power,  
 and are most of them active spirits ; if every one  
 amongst them might move and propound what he pleased,  
 according to his own fancy, there would never be an end  
 of propofalls and debates, and they would breake out into  
 severall factions, and the greater affayres of the kingdome  
 be retarded, and many times thrust out, to make way for  
 lesser matters, for the most part butt of private interest :  
 therefore the wisdome of our government hath so ordered  
 it, that nothing is to be consulted uppon or debated by the  
 ricksdagh, butt what is first proposed to them in writing by  
 the king, who hath the advice of the senators therein ; and  
 such matters, as are by them judged necessary for the good of  
 the kingdom, are by the king proposed to the ricksdagh for  
 their counsell in them.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* This may be a good way to preserve your quiet ; 1654.  
 butt may it not be ill for the rights and liberty of the people ?   
 As to instance in perticular ; if it be requisite that a new  
 law be made relating to the people's liberty, wherein the  
 former lawes may be defective, by this course it rests only  
 in the power of the king and senate, whither this matter  
 shall ever come to consideration or not : for, unlesse they will  
 propound it, no consideration can be had of it ; and though  
 it may be necessary as to the peoples rights, yett then pro-  
 bably it may be against the king's power, and in that case  
 the king will never propose it to the ricksdagh, bicause it  
 makes against his power and prærogative ; and so the people  
 are by this course debarred of the means of supplying any  
 defect, as to their rights and liberties, unlesse the king, to  
 lessen his own power, will first propose it to them.

*Ch.* This were an inconvenience, if the people's rights  
 and libertyes were not already settled ; butt, by our lawes, the  
 boundaries of the king's power and of the people's rights  
 are sufficiently known and established ; as the king can  
 make no law, nor alter or repeale any, nor impose any taxe,  
 nor compell men to goe out of the kingdome, without the  
 assent of the ricksdagh : and in that councill, which is su-  
 preame in this kingdome, every man's vote and assent is in-  
 cluded, by the deputies of the clergy, burroughs, and  
 boores, which are respectively elected, and by the chiefes of  
 the nobility ; so that all sorts of people have their share, either  
 in person or by their deputies, in the supream council of  
 the kingdome, by whom only those great matters can be  
 done ; and, this being certain and settled, any alteration in  
 those points tends butt to further incertainty and mischief.  
 And if debates might be had of additions to the king's power,  
 or to the people's liberty, it would butt occasion attempts  
 of inroaching of one upon the other, and bring trouble



1654. and uncertainty to both: whereas, they being already clearly  
defined and knowne, and that there is no meanes of alter-  
May 19. ing either of them, both the king and people are content  
with what they have, and indevour nothing of disquiet  
unto either.

*Wh.* Butt this further debarres the people from having  
any new law att all made, except such only as the king shall  
thinke fitt, for he only can propose them; and it is a ne-  
cessary thing to supply defects in lawes, and to make new  
ones, according as times and circumstances, varying, shall  
minister occasion.

*Ch.* There is nothing more prejudiciall to any governe-  
ment then multitude of lawes, which is prevented by this  
course of ours; nor is there any necessity of new lawes,  
where both the publique rights and private men's property  
are provided for by the lawes in being, which, in all nations,  
is from the originall of their civill settlement taken care of;  
and though time and variety of accidents may occasion some  
defects in old lawes, yett it is better they should be borne  
with then an inundation of new lawes to be lett in, which  
causeth incertainty, ignorance, different expositions, and re-  
pugnancies in the lawes, and are the parents of contention.

*Wh.* Butt I suppose your ricksdagh hath liberty to com-  
plain of mal-administration, and corruption in officers and  
judges, and to punish them, and cause redresse of grievances;  
else the people are remediless against those publique crimes,  
without the grace and favour of the prince to doe it of him-  
selfe, which every prince in all times will not doe.

*Ch.* The ricksdagh may complaine to the king of any  
offence or misdemeanor committed by any great officer,  
and



and of any publique grievance to the people ; wheruppon <sup>1654.</sup>  
 the king and senate are very ready (as it behoves them in <sup>May 19.</sup>  
 justice and prudence) to give a remedy, which they are the  
 more induced to doe, bicause, otherwise the people's depu-  
 ties, who have the power of the purse, may be the more  
 backward to supply the king's occasions with money, or  
 men ; and this is a good tye, uppon the court, to procure  
 justice and redresse of grievances.

*Wh.* Your lawes are founded uppon great reason and  
 prudence ; and in these, and most other main parts and per-  
 ticulars of them, our's are the same in England ; butt a li-  
 berty of proposing any thing in our parlement belongs to  
 every member of it.

*Ch.* That hath bin a great occasion of all your troubles.

*Wh.* I expected to have heard my father, the ricks  
 chancellor, to have made a harangue in the ricksdagh, to  
 have acquainted them (as it is with us) with the causes of  
 their meeting.

*Ch.* I confesse it belongs to my place to have done it ; butt,  
 by reason of an oath I had taken to my king, to indeavour  
 to keep the crown on his daughter's head, and this assembly  
 was called that she might resigne it ; therefore, I desired to  
 be excused from making that proposall.

*Wh.* Indeed her majesty spake herselfe with an excellent  
 grace and spirit, which was a wonder to see it done by a  
 young lady to so great and grave an assembly ; and the  
 matter of her speech, as it was interpreted to me, was per-  
 tinent and full of weight.



1654.

May 19.

*Ch.* Indeed she spake very well, and materially, and like a prince.

*Wh.* I am sorry my time calles me away from further injoyment of my father's excellent conversation.

*Ch.* I shall be glad if my noble son would afford me more of his company, in which I take so much contentment.

*Wh.* My journey to-morrow hastens me away, and occasions your lesse trouble.

*Ch.* I pray assure the protector of the respect and high value I have for him, and of my devoted mind to serve him in any thing, within my power, in this kingdome.

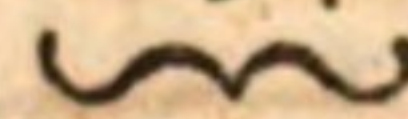
*Wh.* You have bin pleased largely to testify this in my tranfactions, and your noble favours and respects to your son.

*Ch.* You may be confident of my affection and love to you; and I desire you to be a friend to my countrymen in England, and to take uppon you their patronage in all just causes.

*Wh.* I shall be ready uppon all occasions to performe all good offices to your excellence, and to your family, and to all of this nation; and shall satisfy the protector of your affections for him, and of your kindnes to his servant.

*Ch.* I am now an old man; and, whilest I continue alive, I shall doe all that lyes in my power to serve the protector and the common-wealth of England, and shall imbrace your  
excellence



excellence with a speciall bond of friendship, and will leave 1654.  
it in charge to my sons, when I am dead, to doe the   
same. May 19.

*Wh.* I shall also injoyne my children to continue that obligation of friendship, which I have contracted with your excellence and your family.

*Ch.* I shall butt adde this further, to pray to God that, of his mercy, he would vouchsafe to you a prosperous returne to your own countrey, and that you may find there all your family and friends in a comfortable and happy condition.

Thus the chancellor and Whitelocke tooke leave of one another, with as much kindnes and respect as could be expressed.

Whitelocke being returned to his house, Grave John Oxenstierne came to visit him; and having heard that Whitelocke tooke it ill, that he had putt off a visit desired by Whitelocke to this high Grave, yett now he was pleased to descend to excuse it to Whitelocke, bicause his lodging was streight and inconvenient, not fitt to receive a person of Whitelocke's quality, and that his lady was att that time very much indisposed in health.

The senator Benk Scute came in the evening to visit Whitelocke, and discoursed freely with him touching the queen's resignation and their new king; and did not testify much of respect to the chancellor by informing Whitelocke, that yesterday, att the castle, there was a great rubbe (as he called it) given by the queen to the chancellor, before  
the



1654. the prince and the rest of the senators: the occasion wherof  
 May 19. was about the island of Elsey, which the queen desired as  
 part of her provision, to which the chancellor said, that it  
 was worthy the consideration; the queen replied, what is  
 my integrity then questioned? The chancellor answered,  
 that he did not question her majesty's integrity, butt spake  
 only for her security, and better satisfaction in what she  
 desired: the queen said, I understand swedish well enough,  
 and it was not becomming you to question my integrity  
 att all. Scute said, that att this passage the rest of the sena-  
 tors were pleased, and that the prince seemed in this, and  
 all other occasions, to be of the queen's mind, and to  
 graunt her more rather then lesse of what she desired; which  
 was wisdom in him.

Senator Vanderlin visited Whitelocke, and, among other  
 discourses, acquainted him the passages of the proposall for  
 the queen to have marryed the prince; that, for this pur-  
 pose, the prince was sent for out of Germany, and the  
 queen seemed inclinable to the match: yett, after the  
 prince was come, she used him with a strangeness, which  
 was occasioned by the whisperings of Grave Magnus de la  
 Guardie to the queen; that, when the prince was in Ger-  
 many, he was too familiar with some ladyes, who used to  
 come into his bed-chamber when he was in bed and to stay  
 there, and that the prince used to take his pleasure with  
 them; att which information (he said) the queen was so  
 enraged, that the prince should goe to other women, that  
 she theruppon resolved not to marry him, butt was other-  
 wise very courteous and full of respect to him.

Whitelocke did not dispute the authenticknes of this re-  
 lation, butt wondered att it from a senator, touching him  
 6 who



who was to be a king, and to use so much freedome on such  
a subject to a stranger.

1654.

May 19.

Generall Douglas, the ricks admirall, and senator Bielke, also visited Whitelocke this evening while Vanderlin was with him: they discoursed of the discontent which the dutch resident expressed before his going away, because more respect was showed to Whitelocke by the queen and prince, and by the senators and great men heer, then they had showed to the dutch resident, who said, he was a publique minister as well as the english ambassador.

Whitelocke said, it was true, as the dutch resident had remembred, that he was a publique minister; and it might be supposed, that, being so, he should understand the difference between a resident and an ambassador extraordinary; and also between the common-wealth of the united provinces of the Netherlands, and that of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The swedish lords replied, that if the dutch resident did not understand it, nor himsele, that yett it was sufficiently knowne in this place, and that the resident was butt laughed att for his exceptions, as being without cause, and showing his want of experience in matters of this nature.

After the ricks admirall and Bielke were gone, Vanderlin and Douglas staid with Whitelocke and used great freedome of discourse with him, expressing extraordinary respect to the protector and common-wealth of England, and very much affection and kindnes to Whitelocke, in whom they expressed great confidence.

They



1654. They staid with him till past twelve a'clocke att night,  
 ~~~~~ inconvenient in respect of his intended journey the next  
 May 19. day ; butt their company was very pleasing, and they tooke
 leave with great civility and kindnes from each to other of
 them.

20. Whitelocke began his longed for journey of returne to
 England. He had taken his leave of the queen, prince, se-
 nators, and all his friends in Ubsale. His buisnes (through
 the goodnes of God) was successefully dispatched; himselfe,
 and all his people, in good health, and exceeding joyfull
 to be on their journey homewards.

He left not a penny of debt to any in this countrey, nor
 any unrewarded who had done him service : for his hospi-
 tality, wherin no ambassador in this court ever exceeded
 him, for his conversation and dealing with all sorts of
 people, he had gained their love, and left no ill name be-
 hind him.

The greatest part of his baggage, and most of his infe-
 rior servants, were on board a great hoy of the queen's to
 goe by water to Stockholme : he and the rest of his people
 went by land, in order to which, uppon his desire, the
 hof stalle master, by the queen's commaund, had sent
 yesterday six coach-horses to be ready in the midway from
 Ubsale to Stockholme, and this morning he sent six other
 horses, with Whitelocke's blew coach to his lodging, to
 carry him the first halfe way of this dayes journey, driven
 by the queen's coachman.

Berkman had provided a sufficient number of saddle-
 horses (if they might be so called), he having forgott to
 cause

cause saddles to be brought with them for Whitelocke's people, so that most of them were forced to make shift with strawe and cushions instead of saddles; and many of the bits and styrops were such as they had bin acquainted with in their journey from Gothenbergh hither: and thus they rode the two first stages. 1654.
May 20.

Whitelocke tooke coach between seven and eight a'clocke in the morning, Sir George Fletewood, Potley, Ingelo, and Andrewes, in his coach with him; the rest on horsebacke: they came, about noone, to the place where fresh horses stayered for them, and did not tarry long there, wanting good intertainment; butt, taking fresh horses both for coach and saddle, they proceeded in their journey.

The country, through which they past, was better then that neer the sea, lesse rocky and more fruitfull, not so replenished with seats of the nobility further off, as neerer to Stockholme.

By the way they mett generall Axy Lyllye, a senator of Sweden, newly returned out of Germany, and another senator with him; they alighted out of their coach when Whitelocke came neer them, who, seeing that, did alight also: the generall had lost one of his legges in the german warres, and now carryed one of wood; he and his companion were very civill in their salutation and discourse with Whitelocke, and, after complements, and inquiry by Whitelocke of the german newes, they tooke leave and parted.

Whitelocke and his company arrived between five and six a'clocke in the evening att Stockholme, the journey being seven swedish leagues, about forty english miles. As

1654. he came in the suburbs, he saw a sad sight of many houses lately burnt downe, and some pulled downe to prevent the further raging of the fire, which had consumed many scores of houses in that place; and it brought to Whitelocke's remembrance, that, one evening att Upsale, in his chamber windowe, he saw a great fire in a dorpe, about halfe a league from the towne, which he observed, almost in a moment, to flash from one end of the dorpe to the other, consuming all in its way, and thus it was said to have bin in these suburbs: the reason therof is, the combustible matter, wherof their houses are built, being of firre timber and boards, which (especially being old) doe suddenly take fire, and violently burne, hard to be quenched, few houses escaping (especially in the dorpes) where one is on fire; which causeth more then ordinary care in the inhabitants of all places to prevent that fearfull daunger.

Berkman conducted Whitelocke to a lodging in the suburbs, over against the castle, which was used for an inne.

This being post night, Whitelocke made up his dispatches for England, which he had prepared att Upsale, where he wrote his letters, butt dated them from Stockholme, that his friends in England might thereby perceive that he was in his journey homewards, which he knew would be no small contentment to them.

21. Being *the Lord's day*, divers Scotts marchants, inhabitants of this citty, and some English, came to Whitelocke's lodging to hear the sermon in the morning, and many of them did him the honor to dine with him; he had conference with them, and good advice from them, about his voyage to England, and other matters.

Lager-

Lagerfeldt came also to salute Whitelocke, and to know ^{1654.} what service he had for him, before his going from hence ^{May 21.} this evening. Whitelocke desired him to speake to the master of the customes, touching the shipping of his copper, and other goods, custome free; and Whitelocke prayed Lagerfeldt also to speake to vice admirall Wrangell, that the ship appointed for his transportation (which was now in the roade in view of Whitelocke's lodging) might, with as much speed as could be, fall downe to the Dollars; which he promised to doe.

Wrangell sent to invite Whitelocke to goe this afternoon to see the ships, butt Whitelocke excused it, by reason of the day; and sent word that to-morrow, if he pleased, he would wait on him; and desired his advice, touching his voyage.

In the evening Lagerfeldt came againe to Whitelocke' to give him an account what he had done by his appointment, and told Whitelocke, that he should have all contentment. With Lagerfeldt came Monf. de Geeres to visit Whitelocke, who gave him thanks for a vessell of claret wine which de Geeres had sent to Whitelocke, who said, he hoped he should not stay long enough to drinke it out in this place.

Att Ubsale, Whitelocke was carryed to see the queen's garden, which scarce deserved that name, being only a piece of ground of about four or five acres, paled in, according to the manner of their paling, and had in it a few hedges, which, in the latter end of May, uppon the thawe, began to appeare a little green; butt for flowers or fruit trees, there were none, except a few ordinary tulippes.

1654. This putt Whitelocke in mind to inquire, if the queen
 May 21. had a better garden heer att Stockholme, where her residence usually was; the Swedes excused the meanness of the garden att Upsale, bicause the court was seldome there, butt heer they commended the garden, and offered Whitelocke the favour to see it: he went about seven a'clocke this evening to view it, and to walke in the queen's garden heer.

It was neer unto his lodging, butt att a distance from the castle; it is about six or seven acres of ground, incompassed with a pale, on which they bestow timber enough in the posts and rayles: and the pales are not sett upright one by another, butt, crosswise, one uppon another, between two great postes, with rivets for the pales to be putt into, and so to fall down one uppon the other; and the pales are two inches thick or more, made of firre timber, and the posts and rayles of oake.

This garden was distinguished into walkes, not well kept, nor gravelled, butt most of them green: few flowers were to be seen there, though more then att Upsale, and most of these were tulippes, not extraordinary. The sides of the walkes were sett with elme trees, and the like, butt no fruit trees were there, nor are they common in this cold country; only (as they informed Whitelocke) in some places they have a few trees of plummes, and finalle cherries, and of apples; butt he saw none, in regard of the season, nor doe many persons in these parts delight in gardens, or in planting fruits or flowers, this climate not encouraging therunto; yett heer were great boxes of wood with orange trees, cittron trees, and mirtle trees, very young, planted in them; how they thrived was not much visible.

Att

At Whitelocke's lodging, some of his people made the 1654.
greater fires to ayre the roomes, bicause the plague had ^{May 21.}
bin lately in this citty, and in that house, the chimnies (it
seems) being fowle, and full of soote, were the sooner sett
on fire; and when Whitelocke came from walking in the
garden, he found his lodging on fire: it was a stacke of
chimnies which tooke fire; a multitude of people were
ready about the house to help to quench the fire, and the
officers of the citty were there to order the people. White-
locke was surpris'd with this unexpected accident and
daunger, amongst such houses; butt, after an hower's flame,
the soote being spent and burnt, the fire went out of itselſe:
and it was a mercy that the winde ſate to carry the flame
towards a house which was tyled; wheras, if it had ſate
the other way, it had carryed the flame uppon houses all
built and covered with wood, to the extreame daunger of
Whitelocke's lodging, and the whole citty.

In the morning Berkman conducted Whitelocke to the 22.
haven, where lay many boates and vessells, great and
smalle, and much iron uppon the kay, which is convenient,
butt not much ſtored. They paſſed by many fayre houses,
belonging to the great lords.

In the afternoone, Wrangell came to Whitelocke and con-
ducted him to ſee the queen's ſhips, which lye round about
an iſland, called by them the Holme, into which iſland
none are permitted to enter without ſpeciall licence. This
is a good harbour for the ſhips there to anchor ſafely; there
lay about fifty ſhips of warre, ſome of them carrying 80
pieces of cannon, ſome 60, ſome 50, ſome 40, ſome 30,
and all of them well fitted and uſefull, ſtrongly built, butt
not ſo nimble and ſerviceable for fight as our engliſh
frigotts.

Wran-

1654.

May 22.

Wrangell was now in his element, and discoursed much with Whitelocke about the make and force, and goodnes of these ships, their force and brasse cannon; which were commended by Whitelocke, who showed the difference in the make between these ships and the english frigotts; that these for strength to indure an assault, and make defence, were very good, butt that the english frigotts had much advantage in their nimble tacking about, their fleet sayling to fetch up another ship, and the lying of their gunnes for use of fighting: with which discourse Wrangell seemed to be much pleased, and he preferred their brasse cannon before those of iron; which Whitelocke assented unto, as not so soon hott with firing, nor so apt to breake and splinter, and doe harme to their own men, as the iron ordnance are.

Within this island is the office of the admiralty, in a fayre bricke house built for that purpose; in another building there are the forges for all the iron worke belonging to the ships; there also are the timber yarges, well stored, and places for the workmen and ship carpenters.

They were showed there likewise the magazine of powder, bullett, mache, granadoes, with other fire instruments; also the bake-houses, where they make provision of biscuit for the ships: it is a great roome paved with stone, wherin are three ovens for baking, and a large feller in which they store the biscuit.

There be also stores for porke, pease, and other ship provisions, all in very good order, and carefully looked unto.

White-

Whitelocke went aboard divers of the ships, taking notice of their strength and furniture, and, among them, he went aboard severall great ships, which Wrangell had taken in fight from the king of Denmarke, which att present were not serviceable; butt his commendation of that action, and of these ships of warre lying heer, was due to them, and not unpleasing to those who showed them to him.

1654.
May 22.

They returned by boate, making the tour of the island, and as they passed by the ships of warre, they all saluted Whitelocke with two gunnes a piece, which number they doe not exceede.

As they passed along, Whitelocke was desired to goe on board the Hercules, a great and good ship lying there, which carryed 80 pieces of ordnance, all brasse; and being brought into the captain's cabbin, he found there the table covered, and a banquet sett uppon it of sweet meates of divers sorts, with which, and with plenty of excellent rhenish wine, they did, with great respect and civility, intertaine Whitelocke and his company.

From thence they brought him to his lodging, weary enough with his voyage, and the extreame heate of the weather.

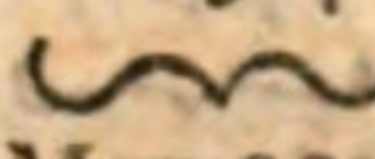
The island, which Whitelocke viewed this day, and many other greater and smaller islands, uppon which are buildings, doe make up this citty, which, by some, is resembled for the situation of it unto the citty of Venice, which stands, as this doth, uppon severall islands in the sea. The waters are great and deep about this citty, which is compassed with mountains, except only where they give way to the
passage

1654. ^{May 22.} passage of the waters; the town, in the prospect of it, seems to be as in the midst of the circuit of the mountains, and as it were composed of divers pieces, each of them a-part making a good towne, and so appear as severall villages, separated by the many armes of water, or by the lake Meter, which come hither to meet one another, and make the large and deep water: and it seems to be the diameter of the mountains, and now all plaine, by carrying away the earth of a hill within it, and the stones, therewith filling up ditches and uneven grounds, and serving for foundations for their buildings, and to make their streets even and handsome; so that now it is all levell as if no hill had ever bin. One of their authors saith, that it is *loco et situ commodissimo, inter eximium dulcem lacum Meter ipsumq; Balticum mare in insula, fundatum.*

The inhabitants (who should best know it) affirme, that the situation of this towne is very healthfull, and that notwithstanding the vast quantity of waters that doe surround it, yett they are not troubled with agues, or other diseases, so much as other parts of the countrey. It is too, in the view of it, pleasant and noble for the situation; and the grounds about it are drye and wholsome, yett fruitfull.

The streets are some of them large, others more narrow, most of them are streight, the houses being equally advanced and sett together. In the heart of the citty they are, for the most part, built of stone or bricke, making the fayrer show by their height of four or five storyes.

From the north holme or suburbes to the east is a bridge of wood, very long; from the island where the ships lye they passe another bridge, to another island, both smalle ones, and att the mouth of the harbour for the ships of war,

war, extending about halfe a league, between which and 1654.
 the continent are the waters of the lake and of the rivers, 
 which passe through the town from the west: from the May 22.
 north to the east is a parke of deere, pleasant with trees and
 shade, contributing to the delight and health of the inha-
 bitants; and taking all together, from the prospect of the
 mountains, uppon the churches, castle, houses, waters,
 and ships, the town appears noble and beautifull.

Whitelocke having bin att the island where the ships lye,
 and observed it to be called the Holme, and other islands
 to have the same name of Holme, and Holme to be the
 same which we call an island, and this citty named Stock-
 holme, caused his inquiry of the originall of this name of
 Stockholme: he was informed, in a kind of pleasant story,
 which is not without some probability, and the earnest affir-
 mations of the inhabitants, who, from tradition, may be
 supposed best to know it, that the originall of the name
 Stockholme was thus.

That there was a certain great and rich towne called
 Bieurkoo, situate uppon the lake, between Upsale and this
 place, wherof some ruines are yett to be seen; the number
 of the people in that towne increasng so much, that the
 inhabitants could not be therin contained, they held a
 councill what was fitt to be done; they also consulted their
 idoll gods, to whom they offered sacrifices and prayers for
 their direction.

The issue was this; they came to a resolution, that part
 of their people should goe forth from them, as a colonie, to
 seek for a new habitation, as is usuall in these northerne
 countryes; that they should find out a place, and build

1654. them a new citty to dwell in; and how to find out, and
 May 22. agree uppon this place, was thus determined.

They tooke a great blocke, or piece of wood, to which they fastened some gould, and sett the block a swimming in the water, and agreed, that there they would build the new towne, where their gods (to whom they had committed this affayre) should cause the blocke to stay: this blocke floated, and, descending downe the lake, att length stayed att a little island about the midst of this citty.

Such an island heer (as in our north parts) is called Holme, and such a great blocke, or piece of wood, is by them (as with us) called a Stocke: and bicause this Stocke stayed att this Holme, therefore heer they built their citty, and called it Stockholme; which, by degrees, and adding one holme or island to another, became of its present greatnes.

23. Berkman brought to Whitelocke's lodging, this morning, two of the magistrates of this citty, deputed by their body, and in their name, to salute Whitelocke, and bid him well-come to this place. One of them made a speech to Whitelocke, which was interpreted out of the swedish by Berkman into french, to this effect:

“ My lord ambaffador,

“ The senate of this citty have deputed us, in their
 “ name, to salute your excellence, and to bid you well-
 “ come to this place; where the magistrates and cittizens are
 “ desirous to imbrace any occasion presented to them,
 “ wherby they may testify the great respect and honor,
 “ which

“ which they beare to his most serene highnes the lord pro-1654.
 “ tector, and to the common-wealth of England.

May 23.

“ They are likewise very glad of the occasion given.
 “ them to expresse their joy for the happy alliance and
 “ friendship, concluded between this kingdom and the com-
 “ mon-wealth of England, which, we hope, will be to the
 “ advantage and good of both nations, and of the pro-
 “ testant interest, which is heartily wished by us. We
 “ looke uppon it as a very great comfort and blessing to
 “ this citty, that after the misery in which we have lately
 “ bin, when it pleased God to visit us with the pestilence,
 “ that the same is now so well and fully removed, through
 “ divine mercy, that we have the happines to see a person,
 “ of your condition, vouchsafe his presence with us.

“ Whilest the occasions of your excellence shall stay you
 “ heer, we most freely offer our services for your accomo-
 “ dation, with whatsoever this place will afforde, which
 “ your excellence may commaund; and, as a smalle testi-
 “ mony of the respects of our superiors, they have caused
 “ us to present a vessell of wine unto your excellence,
 “ wherof they intreate your favourable acceptance.”

Whitelocke presently answered them in english, which
 Berkman interpreted to them in swedish, to this effect:

“ Gentlemen,

“ I rejoyce with you in the mercy and goodnes of God
 “ to this citty, who hath caused to cease that contagious
 “ disease which lately raged among you, so that your
 “ friends (of which number I take the honor to reckon
 “ myselfe) may freely and safely resort to you, and con-

H h 2

“ verse

1654. “ verſe with you as formerly. I have alſo ſome ſhare in
 May 23. “ your joy for the friendſhip and alliance, contracted be-
 “ tween my lord the protector of the common-wealth of
 “ England, and the queen and kingdom of Sweden;
 “ wherein I doubt not, butt (through the bleſſing of God)
 “ both nations, and the whole proteſtant intereſt, will have
 “ cauſe to rejoyce likewise: and as my poor indeavours
 “ have not bin wanting, ſo my hearty prayers to God ſhall
 “ be putt up, that it may come to this iſſue; and I ſhall
 “ pray for the continuance of health and proſperity to this
 “ noble citty.

“ I returne you many thanks for your reſpects to my
 “ lord the protector, and the common-wealth whom I
 “ ſerve; wherof I ſhall not fayle (when it ſhall pleaſe God
 “ to give me a returne to my owne countrey) to acquaint
 “ them, and to doe all offices of reſpect in my power for
 “ your citty: and I deſire my thanks may be preſented to
 “ your honorable ſenate, for their perticular favour to
 “ me, and for their ſalutation, which I receive with all
 “ gratitude.”

Whileſt the cittizens were with Whitelocke, Wrangell, vice admirall Tyſen, vice admirall Clerke, Sinclere, captain of the Amarantha, and others, came and did Whitelocke the honor to dine with him; and, in the afternoone, carryed him to ſee the cannon which the Swedes had taken from their ennemies, now layd up in a magazin for themſelves: there were of them braſſe cannon 1100, among them were two pieces taken from the Muſcoviters, each of them weighing 18,000 lb. weight, and carrying a bullet of 96 lb. weight, as much more as the greateſt whole cannon carries. There was alſo a baſiliske of 19 foote in length, very extraordinary, and a great mortar-piece of
 6
 braſſe

brasse of a fathome and three fingers in diameter att the ^{1654.}
 mouth of it ; with many other pieces of brasse ordnance ^{May 23.}
 taken from the Polles in their warres with them, which
 were now butt of little use ; nor were those huge pieces ca-
 pable to be drawne into the field for any service there.

Whitelocke walked abroad to see the great church, ^{24.}
 where the late king Gustavus Adolphus lyes interred ; butt,
 as yett, there is no monument erected in his memory, nor
 are there others of magnificence, or much antiquity in this,
 or in the other great church, butt store of images and cru-
 cifixes in all their churches : their building is of bricke,
 and all their churches are covered with copper.

Whitelocke went to Wrangell's lodging to requite his
 visits, butt found him not att home, not having sent before
 hand to him : he fetched a little turne in the citty, and they
 showed him a new building for the ricksdagh, which they
 call the Ruder-house, that is, the house of the knights ; it is
 a fayre building, and the name of it remembers somewhat of
 the knights of our parlement.

In this walke, Whitelocke viewed, in the fayre street
 neer his lodging, the monument sett up to the honor of
 queen Christina att her coronation, which is beautifull to
 the view. It is a triumphant arch, of the height of the
 highest houses, rayfed uppon three arches, which give three
 passages ; those on each side the more streight and lowe, the
 middle arch of twice the height and wideness of the other
 two.

The frontispiece unto the toppes of the arches is adorned
 with pillars of a fayre worke ; between which, in the front
 of the building, are figured the warres, battles, and victo-
 ries.

1654. ries of Gustavus the Great: above the pillars are divers
 May 24. images, and above the middle of the porche is a large tablet,
 containing in letters of gold the originall of Christina, her
 virtues, and the occasion of this monument.

The whole building seems fayre and stately, and as of
 stone, butt, in trueth, is only wood plaistered over; rather
 a shew to please for a few years, then lasting.

He also viewed many houses of stone and bricke, some
 wherof were very fayre, and adorned with towers and
 figures; as those of Grave Magnus de la Guardie, Grave
 Gustave Horne, generall Banniere, and others, and many
 of them beautifully covered with copper.

In the afternoone Wrangell conducted Whitelocke to
 see the castle, which is also covered with copper; and that
 having lyen there long, some dutchmen are reported to
 have offered to give 10,000 l. for the copper, and to cover
 the castle againe with new copper: the reason wherof they
 hold to be, bicause the copper which hath lyen there so long
 with the sun uppon it, is so refined thereby, and would
 yield so much gold, that it will yield what the dutchmen
 bid for it, and more, besides the charge of new covering it
 with copper as before.

This castle is the principall house in this principall city,
 belonging to the crown of Sweden; it is a large castle,
 more for conveniency of a court then for stateliness of
 structure. It is almost fower-square, one way longer then
 the other, all of bricke, plaistered over, to make it seem as
 if it were of free stone, wherof there is not much in these
 parts fitt for building: the entry into the castle is uppon
 the north quarter; the south and east side is of fayre build-
 ing,

ing, four stories high, the windowes not large. On the west of the quadrangle is the chappell, about 130 foot in length, with the breadth proportionable: it is divided into three arches, uppon two ranges of pillars of marble of this countrey, of divers colours, most in red streakes, handsome and polished. On the windowes and walles are severall pictures and images, after the manner of the Lutheran churches.

1654.
May 24.

The roomes in the castle are many; some of them large enough for the state of a court, and most of those are two stories high, after the use of this countrey. The situation of the castle is pleasant and noble, by the side of the great water, uppon which part of it is built, and the other part uppon the island where it stands; and though of itselfe it be not of great strength, yett the situation, prospect of the waters, ships, vessells, islands, and buildings, on the one side, and of the countrey to the mountains on the other side, give it the repute of a princely palace.

In the castle, Whitelocke was carryed up to a roome, a magazin, where were a very great number of musquetts, pikes, swords, and other foot armes, excellent good, made in this countrey, of their own iron and steele, and kept exceeding clean, bright, and well fixed, and were said to be sufficient to arme 10,000 men compleatly.

On the other side of the court, they brought him to another roome, where was a magazin of horse armes, of curassiers, with pistolls, bright, well kept, and of an excellent make; there were also more foot armes: in all, in this magazin, 2000 horse armes, and 5000 foot armes, and in the other magazin 10,000 foot armes.

There.

1654. There were likewise colours, ensigns, and standards,
 taken from their enemies, to the number of about 800;
 May 24. among them one taken by king Gustavus in person, and
 another, which Wrangell showed, that he had taken from
 the duke of Saxonie.

This citty is doubtless as well provided of armes and
 all sorts of ammunition for warre, as any place in these
 parts of Europe, heer being, besides the queen's stores in
 the publique arsenall, armes sufficient for 50,000 men.

Heer also they showed to Whitelocke the launce of the
 quentaine, and, according to their description of it and its
 use, it seems to be the same with the exercise and recrea-
 tion used antiently in England, and yett retained in some
 counties att their marryages, which they likewise call the
 running att the quintaine.

In a great hall, they showed to Whitelocke the skin
 stuffed out, and standing in the full proportion, of the
 horse which the late king Gustavus rode when he was flaine,
 also his bloody shirt which he then wore, which is carefully
 preserved in a chest; where they also keep the jewell which
 king Gustavus wore att his coronation, and many rich
 swords, battle axes, and other spoyles taken from their
 enemies.

25. Wrangell came to Whitelocke, and invited him to see the
 launching of one of their ships newly built for a man of
 war; and Whitelocke was the more curious to see the man-
 ner of it, and how they could doe it, in regard they have
 no dockes, nor ebbing and flowing of the water, which
 heer is constantly even, and affords noe advantage by flow-
 ing tydes for the launching of their ships.

When

When Whitelocke came to the holme where the ship was 1654.
 to be launched, he found her with the keele sett uppon ^{May 25.}
 great planks of timber, the ship tyed upright with cables,
 as if she were swimming; the planks, uppon which she stood,
 laye shelving towards the water, and were all thicke dawbed
 with grease, all along from the poope of the ship, and un-
 der her keele, to the water's side, which was within the
 ship's length of her head, and there the water was very
 deepe: one strong cable held the ship from moving, and
 she lying thus shelving uppon the planks, the cable which
 held her from sliding downe was cutt, and then the weight
 of the ship, uppon the sloaping greased planks, carryed
 her with great violence downe uppon the planks into the
 sea, neere a flight shoote, by force of the weight and swinge
 wherwith she fell downe. In the sea were boates ready,
 which came to her and putt men aboard her; and as she
 went off, a great shout of a multitude of people, standing
 by as spectators, was sent after her.

Wrangell, as an honor and complement to Whitelocke,
 desired him to give the name to this ship. Whitelocke
 would have called her the Wrangell, butt the master of that
 name intreated it might not be so (possibly to avoyd the
 envy of it att court), butt he desired it might be called the
 Whitelocke, which Whitelocke thought not expedient, lest
 it might argue too much height in himselfe; nor would he
 call her Cromwell, or the Protector, bicause she carryed
 butt 30 gunnes: butt seeing the marke of her gunns to be
 the Faulcon, and asking whither they had any other ship
 of that name, they sayd noe; wheruppon, the Faulcon
 being Whitelocke's cote of armes, and the marke of the
 ship's gunnes, and she being built swifter of sayle then ordi-
 nary, Whitelocke gave her the name of the Faulcon.

1654. This pleased Wrangell very much; and the seamen and
 May 25. workemen were most pleased with the gratuity which
 Whitelocke bestowed on them: and this ceremony and
 complements being past, Whitelocke gave many thanks to
 Wrangell for this honor, and so they parted.

The packett from England was brought to Whitelocke.
 Thurloe wrote thus:

“ I have acquainted his highnes with your excellency's
 letters received yesterday, wherein he takes little content,
 more then, that he did on his part sincerely intend a peace
 and union with that crown and kingdome, and committed
 the management of it to a person who hath performed his
 trust with honor, wisdom, and fidelity: we hope that your
 instructions, giving you liberty to returne, are by this time
 arrived, &c.”

By this packett Whitelocke also received letters from his
 wife, full of affection and piety, and from collonell Bul-
 strode, his brother Willson, Mr. Attorney Hall, Mr. Cokaine,
 Mr. Eltonhead, especially from his great friend doctor
 Winston; and all of these letters, and severall others which
 he received, were so many testimonies of the affection and
 hearty kindness of these his worthy friends.

26. After Whitelocke had walked a tour in the norden mal-
 lum, that is the north suburbs of this citty, Sir George
 Fletewood came to him; with whom he had much conversa-
 tion in the latter time of his being in Sweden, both at
 Upsale and in this town, who showed much kindness and
 respect to Whitelocke: he informed Whitelocke, that by
 letters from Upsale he understood, that the ricksdagh had
 given leave to the queen to goe to Colmar, which signified,

that she could not goe without their leave, and that she 1654.
would find much difference between commaunding as a ^{May 26.}
queen, and obeying as a subject; and that, by the law of
this kingdome, no queen can depart out of it, without
leave of the ricksdagh, on forfeiture of all her estate.

A ship, called the Swart Hundt, was, by the queen's
commaund, appointed and fitted to carry Whitelocke's
copper, and other goods, from hence to England. By ad-
vice of friends, Whitelocke, under his hand and seale, de-
sired Sir George Fletewood to consign the copper to
Whitelocke's brother-in-law, Mr. Willson; the desire was
thus:

“ I Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable of the castle of Win-
sor, one of the lord commissioners of the great seale of Eng-
land, and ambassador extraordinary from his most serene
highnes the lord protector of the common-wealth of Eng-
land, Scotland, and Ireland, unto her majesty the queen
of Sweden, doe hereby desire my honourable friend Sir
George Fletewood, knight, generall major under the
crown of Sweden, to ship and consign unto Mr. Samuell
Willson, marchant in London, in Bishopsgate streete, 200
ship-pound, swedish weight, of gore copper; the which
the said Mr. Samuel Willson is to receive and dispose of ac-
cording to my order. Dated att Stockholme, in Sweden,
the 26th day of May, 1654.

B. WHITELOCKE.”

According to which warrant, the copper was putt on
board the Swart Hundt, fitted, and victualled for Eng-
land. Of Whitelocke's ship, Whitelocke gave the com-
mand and charge, and of his goods therin, to one of his
servants, Taylor, by commission under his hand and seale,

1654. and to bring his copper and goods in her from hence to London, as soon as he could, wind and weather favouring.
 May 26. Wrangell procured this ship for Whitelocke, and a passe from the admiralty of Sweden for her to goe through the Sundt; and Whitelocke thought it better to see this ship on her voyage, then to leave the sending of her away to the care of others after his departure.

Whitelocke sent the rest of his goods and baggage on board the Amarantha, which weighed yesterday, and he hoped might, by this time, be within four leagues of the Dollars; butt the wind came contrary for her advance any further, and Whitelocke must continue heer till he could understand that his ship was gotten to the Dollars, which is fourteen swedish leagues from this citty, butt may be gone in six or seven howers by boates, in a shorter passage.

His stay heer seemed tedious to Whitelocke: this day the wind, comming about a little towards the east, increased his hopes of getting away, for which they were in dayly expectation.

By some marchants, and others of this citty, Whitelocke learned what was the commerce of this towne, and, by his own view, he found it to be commodiously seated for trade, and to receive all the commodities of the country's groweth, which are brought hither by water; and it is the more convenient, bicause the greatest ships may come up to the very houses, and there loade and unloade their merchandizes, never wanting water, which there is alwayes deep, and equall in the height of it.

Butt this citty is somewhat farre distant from the sea by water, so that, before the ships can goe between the sea and the

the town, they must fetch a compasse of about 100 english miles, with the daunger of many rockes and islands in the way; and they must have also divers winds, which are hinderances to their commerce. 1654.
May 26.

The present queen hath bin curious to invite hither, and to intertaine, many good artists; yett every thing heer is very deere, except the native commodities: and now Gothenbergh, growing up in trade, being situate without the Sundt, a more open and easy place for accesse of strangers, some believe, that by the groweth of that, this port may be diminished.

It is the better supported by the court being commonly kept heer, and consequently being the residence of the principall nobility and officers; some courts of justice constantly, and the ricksdagh generally, being held in this citty, increase the trade of it; and this being a good roade for ships to defend them from injuryes of weather, or other daungers, makes it the more frequented.

Plenty of provisions are brought to this town for the supply of it; and most of their native commodities, as copper, iron, pitch, tarre, deale, masts, and the rest, are brought hither, and heer shipped and transported into foreign parts; from whence their marchants and strangers doe bring to this northern markett, all manner of marchandize heer vendible; and from hence againe they are vented to all the northern and eastern parts of this countrey, wherby their trade and wealth is also increased, so that one of their authors calles it, *Celeberrimum ac nobilissimum septentrionis emporium.*

The

1654. The trade of this place, hath brought and settled heer,
 as inhabitants, besides Swedes, Goths, Fins, and Lapland-
 May 26. ers, divers of Germans, of Pomerland, Mecklenbergh,
 Westphalia, &c. also English, Scotts, French, Dutch, and
 almost of every countrey of Europe: some are heer now
 become cittizens, and are treated with justice and civility
 by the natives, to the end, that they and others may be
 the more incouraged to add to the riches, strength, and
 trade of this place.

27. Whitelocke visited Sir Geo. Fletewood att his lodging in
 Stockholme; and finding, with him, vice admirall Thyfen,
 and Peterfon, both Hollanders, and in service of the crown,
 Whitelocke brought them all home with him to dinner, and
 advised with them about his voyage.

The wind came more contrary to Whitelocke this day then
 yesterday; butt he knew no other way butt a patient sub-
 mission to the will and time of God. Heer he bestowed on
 a german clocke fixty-two ricks dollers.

From some of the magistrates and others of this citty,
 Whitelocke learned, that the governement therof is by fower
 councells, and a senate of the cittizens, as their common
 councill, consisting of twenty four chosen yearly in this
 moneth, by suffrage of the inhabitants; and justice is ad-
 ministred to the people by them, in like manner as in other
 cittyes.

Besides these officers, there is a castellan, or governor of
 the castle of Stockholme, who, by a peculiar authority over
 the citty, takes care of the walles and buildings therof, as
 he doth of the castle, and other the king's buildings there.

He

He is to defend the priviledges of the town, and is chiefe 1654. in their politicall adminiftration: he alfo orders and keeps up the revenue and trade, and fuffers not the royalties of the crown to be diminifhed, nor any of the publique treasure, without the licence of the king, to be expended. He is alwayes one of the ricks fenators, and hath joyned to him a vice-castellan, of the equeftrian order, who is chiefe in the judgements of the citty within the fenate and confulls, and is intent to the execution of juftice.

The ftrength of this citty is chiefly in the fituation of it among the waters, which are no fmalle defence, and in the bodyes of their inhabitants, who make a confiderable number of the foldiery, many of whom have bin in forein fervice: the castellan commandeth them, fees their mufters, and that they be provided with armes, and in a pofture of defence; and under the castellan is a captain, who hath the military charge next under him.

The maine body of the towne hath fomewhat of a wall about it; butt the fuburbs and other iflands are incircled with the waters, with bridges for communication.

The caftle is of indifferent ftrength, and notably provided of armes and ammunition, as is before remembered, which addes to the ftrength and fafety as well as commaund of the citty. They have not a formed guarryfon in the towne; butt divers companyes of the king's guards, when the court is there, and fometimes of other regiments of the army, are quartered there, as occasions doe require.

The caftle commaunds a good part of the towne, and may be as a cittadell uppon any emergent buifnes; and in cafe of any troubles att fea, the fhips of war lye heer in ready-

1654. readiness, forthwith to be manned, are provided with am-
 ~~~~~  
 May 27. munition, provisions, and all things necessary for the de-  
 fence and safeguard of this port and citty, from any at-  
 tempts which may by sea be made against it.

Whitelocke made up his dispatches for England, and now dated his second letters from Stockholme, attending for a wind.

28. The *Lord's day*. Whitelocke, according to his custome, had a good sermon in his lodging preached by one of his chapleins in the morning, and another good sermon preached there in the afternoone by Mr. Biger, a Scotts minister, and chaplein to Sir George Fletewood, then with him.

In this citty, Whitelocke observed the inhabitants very orderly to frequent their parish churches, and not so much prophanation of this day in this place, as he had seen att Upsale, and other places in the countrey.

29. Whitelocke, with longing desires, attended the comming about of the wind for his voyage; butt he must stay God's time, which is alwayes best.

He could not perswade Sir George Fletewood to stay longer with him: he thought it necessary for him to goe to Upsale, to be present att the king's coronation; and, att his request, Whitelocke sent by him to Wrangell this letter\*.

\* See ap-  
 pendix Z  
 for trans-  
 lation.

*A son excellence le feldt mareschall Wrangell à Upsale.*

“ Monsieur,

“ Je n'ai peu retenir plus long tempts, le generall major  
 “ Fletewood avec moi, son desir le portoit si fort de se  
 “ trouver



“ trouver à Ubsale, au couronnement, de crainte qu’il ne 1654.  
 “ sembleroit negligent, et manquer à son devoir envers son <sup>May. 29.</sup>  
 “ Altesse royale; mais la raison de ce qu’il a présenté ma  
 “ requête à vostre excellence est qu’il vous plaise moyenn  
 “ envers son Altesse royale, à fin qu’il retourne à Stockholme;  
 “ et que je puisse jouir de sa compagnie jusques à mon de-  
 “ part, qui en apparence fera differé plus long tempts que  
 “ je ne le souhaiterois, à raison de la contrariété des vents.

“ Je supplie vostre excellence de me faire la faveur de  
 “ baiser en mon nom les mains de sa majesté, et de son  
 “ Altesse royale, et d’accepter pour tant de faveurs que  
 “ vostre excellence m’a faites, tant à Ubsale qu’en ce lieu,  
 “ les actions de graces de celui qui est,

“ Monsieur, à vostre excellence

Stockholme,  
 May 29, 1654.

“ très humble serviteur,

“ B. WHITELOCKE.”

Berkman went from hence 17th May att night, and re-  
 turned this morning hither, and brought to Whitelocke  
 this letter \*.

\* See ap-  
 pendix  
 A. A.  
 for trans-  
 lation.

Illustrissimo domino domino Bulstrode Whitelocke, extraor-  
 dinario reipublicæ Angliæ in Sueciam legato officiosis-  
 simè.

*Illustrissime et excellentissime domine legate,*

“ Quanquam valdè dubitem, an excellentiam vestram  
 “ hæ litteræ in Sueciam inveniant, nolui tamen, accepta hac  
 “ occasione, vel meo officio deesse, vel refragari quorun-  
 “ dum Suecorum petitioni, nam cum naves duæ suecicæ,  
 Vol. II. K k “ quarum



1654. " quarum naucleri Bonders et Sibrand follis vocantur,  
 May 29. " nuper ceptæ et in Angliam delatæ sint, sperant fore, ut,  
 " per hanc meam intercessionem, cumprimis autem per  
 " benevolam excellentiæ vestræ commendationem, quan-  
 " tocius dimittantur; nisi igitur mihi satis perspecta esset  
 " excellentiæ vestræ integritas, pluribus ab eâ conten-  
 " derem, ut dictarum aliarumq; detentarum in Angliâ  
 " suecicarum navium liberationem, atq; per se æquam, ac  
 " amicitiae foederiq; mutuo conformem sibi haberet com-  
 " mendatam; sufficit nunc saltem indicasse excellentiæ  
 " vestræ, quippe cui nihil antiquius esse scio, quàm ut  
 " amicæ confœderatæq; gentes, sanctâ fidei justitiæq; obser-  
 " vantia, inter se strictius colligentur. De cætero excellen-  
 " tiæ vestræ foelicem in patriam reditum exopto, ut me  
 " nostrumq; Barkmannum officiose commendo. Dabam  
 " Ubsaliæ, 27 Maii, anno 1654.

" Excellentiæ vestræ

" ad quævis officia paratissimus

" ISRAEL LAGERFELDT."

In the evening Whitelocke walked abroad to take the  
 aier, the time of his stay heer being very tedious to him, at-  
 tending for a good wind, that he might proceed in his  
 longed for returne to his native countrey and relations; butt  
 he submitted to the good pleasure of God, who orders all  
 times and seasons, and all things, for the best: att night the  
 wind came about a little towards the east, favouring his  
 voyage.

30. The wind continued this morning, as it was last night,  
 easterly, butt not sufficing for Whitelocke to goe on his  
 voyage. The vice admirall Clerke comming to Whitelocke,  
 he



he advised with him touching his voyage, and asked him, <sup>1654.</sup> if he thought the Amarantha might, with this wind, be got- <sup>May 30.</sup> ten to the Dollars? he answered, that there could be no assurance thereof, butt that possibly it might be so: where-uppon Whitelocke replied, that he had a great desire to goe down himselfe to the Dollars, before the newes came of the Amarantha's arrivall there; bicause the wind might come good, and within six howers carry them out to the open sea, which, if neglected, might retard their voyage fifteen dayes or more. Clerke said, that if Whitelocke desired to doe so, that he would not advise him to the contrary; butt he believed that this might expedite his voyage: only he said, that Whitelocke must be content to lye on board the ship till the wind should come fayre, bicause there was no accommodation to be had for him and his company att the Dollars. Whitelocke said, he should be well contented to lye on ship-board, and prayed Clerke to cause boates to be provided for his passage to the Dollars the next day; and ordered his officers and servants to prepare all things in readines for his departure accordingly. Wrangell came back this night from Upsale, and severall other persons, though very late, having stayed the solemnities of the queen's resignation, and the coronation of the new king, which they related to Whitelocke to be done this day, and in this manner and solemnity.

About nine a'clocke this morning the queen, being attyred in her royall apparell and robes, of purple velvet, with her crown uppon her head, and attended by all her officers and servants, came into the roome prepared for that occasion; where was sett a table with a rich carpet, and five great cushions layd uppon it: most of the grantees and officers were present.



1654. <sup>May 30.</sup> Uppon one of the cushions was layd the sword of state, uppon the second cushion was layd the scepter, uppon the third cushion was layd the ball, and uppon the fourth cushion were layd the keyes.

The queen, being come into the room, after a little pause made a short speech to the company to this effect :

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ You have, before this time, bin acquainted with my  
 “ resolution to resigne the crowne and government of this  
 “ kingdome into the hands of my most deare cousen the  
 “ prince, heer present with me, uppon my earnest request  
 “ to the ricksdagh now convened. After long debates, and  
 “ much sollicitation, to dissuade me from it, yett att length,  
 “ though unwillingly, they have assented to this my reso-  
 “ lution ; and I am now come to putt the same in execu-  
 “ tion, before all these honorable wittnesles heer preset :  
 “ and to you, my most deare cousen, I doe heartily wish all  
 “ happines and good successe in the management of the  
 “ publique affayres of this kingdome.”

Having thus spoken, the queen desired that some of them would take the crown from off her head ; butt none would doe it : she then called to Grave Tott and the baron Steinbergh, expresly commaunding them to doe it ; butt they refused, till againe earnestly commaunded by her ; they then tooke the crown from off her majesty's head, and layd it down uppon the fifth cushion on the table.

After that was done, some others, by her commaund, tooke off the royall robes with which she was cloathed, and layd them downe uppon the table : then the queen, having thus



thus divested herselfe of these ensignes of royalty, and resigned her crown, being now in her private habit, made coursey to the prince, and to the rest of the company, and retired into her owne chamber. 1654.  
May 30.

An act of a strange constancy and fixednes of resolution, going through with this great worke of her own abdication, without the least outward shew of reluctancy for what she had done, butt with the same behaviour and confidence as att all other times, in her perticular and private affayres !

For this act of the queen's resignation they had no precedent ; for the solemnity of the king's coronation they had many : and the same is att large, with all the circumstances and ceremonies therof, sett down by one of their authors, Wexionius epit. descriptionis Sueciæ, l. 5. c. 6. from which the ceremonies of this coronation were not much different, and thus shortly related unto Whitelocke.

After the queen was withdrawn to her private chamber, the ricks officers and senators humbly desired the prince, that he would be pleased to walke to the cathedrall church, where the archbishop, and other prelates, were ready to attend his royall highnes, and to performe the solemnities of his coronation. The whole company went thither in this order.

The officers and servants of the court went first, in a very great number, together with many officers of the army, and other gentlemen.

After them came the nobility, the gentlemen, barons, and earls, members of the ricksdagh ; then followed the ricks senators, two and two in rank. After them came the  
five



1654. five ricks officers; first the ricks scatz-master, or high treasurer, who carryed the keyes; next to him the ricks chancellor, who carryed the globe; after him came the ricks admirall, who carryed the scepter; then one in the place of the feldthere, or generall, who carryed the sword; and, lastly, the ricks droitsett, or chiefe justice, who carryed the crowne.

May 30.

After the chiefe justice came the king himselfe, in his ordinary habit, with a huge troupe following him, and the windowes and streets crowded with multitudes of people: the guards and soldiers stood in their armes as the company passed by.

Being thus come to the cathedrall, att the doore stood the archbishop, with a horne of oyle in his hand, accompanied with other bishops, superintendents, and many clergymen. He received the prince att the church doore, and conducted him up to the high altar, where they had prayers, and then the archbishop anointed the prince with the oyle; they putt uppon him the royall apparell, putt the crown uppon his head, the scepter in his right hand, and the ball into his left hand, and so he was invested into the royall dignity, and declared, with all his titles, king of Swedes, Gothes, and Vandales, &c. drummes, trumpets, and lowde acclamations of the people adding to the proclayming of their new king: not many dayes past they laboured to hinder the doing of it, now they shout for joy that it is done; thus are the minds and practice of the multitude, whom nothing pleaseth long, nothing more then novelty.

The ceremonies being performed att the cathedrall, the new king, with all his new subjects and servants, returned from thence into the castle in the same order as he came  
hither;



hither ; by the way he was saluted with the lowd acclama-<sup>1654.</sup>  
 tions of the people, God save the king : thus comming to <sup>May 30.</sup>  
 his court, as he entered it, the abdicated queen lookes out  
 of her windowe, and, with a cheerfull countenance, and  
 voyce heard by the company, she wished her cousen joy of  
 his crown and governement.

The king retires for a while to his private chamber, then  
 is called forth to a sumptuous feast ; where most of the no-  
 bility and senators did attend uppon him, and rejoyce  
 with him, and afterwards did sweare fealty, homage, and  
 allegiance to him.

Butt this relation was not so pleasing to Whitelocke, as  
 the thoughts of his departure from this place, and his long-  
 ing to proceed in his voyage homewards.

The Swart Hundt sett sayle this morning with White-<sup>31.</sup>  
 locke's goods and coppar, Taylor commaunding her, and  
 Swedes marriners in her ; the wind was come about, indif-  
 ferent good, for his, and for his master's voyage.

Wrangell and Clerke affording Whitelocke their com-  
 pany att dinner, he advised with them, what time of the  
 day would be best for him to goe from hence : Clerke said,  
 that the boates would be ready after dinner to transport him  
 from hence to the Dollars, whither, he hoped, that by this  
 time the Amarantha might be come. He and Wrangell ad-  
 vised Whitelocke not to goe on board the boates, till six  
 or seven a'clocke in the evening, to avoyd the heate of the  
 day, and to injoy the benefit of the coole of the night ;  
 which was better to be indured then the extreanity of  
 the heate of the day, especially uppon the water : and  
 the heat some affirmed to be, att this time, as violent  
 in



1654. in this countrey as it is in Spayne or Italy; Whitelocke  
 May 31. found it now as much hotter then England, as it is colder  
 in the winter.

About seven a'clocke in the evening Whitelocke left his lodging, where they made him pay as an ambassador extraordinary: for the use of the house only for eleven dayes, they made him pay 160 ricks dollers; for his victualls, butt one meale a day, without any dainties, they exacted above 1000 ricks dollers. Such is their unconscionable exaction uppon strangers.

It was time to leave them; and Whitelocke being called by Wrangell and Clerke, he went to prayers with his company, recommending themselves to the protection and blessing of God; and, presently after prayers, he and all his people went to the water-side, multitudes by the way saluting him with respect as he passed by, and crowding to see him take boate.

He went into a galley of the queen's attending for him; most of his gentlemen and Clerke were with him in the galley; the rest of his company went in a great boate provided for them.

This galley had two masts bearing the queen's colours in filke; in the hinder part of it was a roome with a table and benches rownd about it, the table covered with crimson velvet, the benches with red cloth, and tapistery uppon the floore: the roome held about ten persons; the outward roome about twelve men, besides the watermen for sixteen oares.

Att



Att her head she carryed two smalle pieces of ordnance, 1654. which they fired att loosing from the harbour, and the ships of warre fired as they passed by; they went on in a great deepe water, sometimes very broade, sometimes more narrowe; on the sides wherof were huge rockes, and heer and there little trees growing out of the clefts of them, with small heapes of earth lying on them; butt they increase not much in that soyle.

Many rockes all along on the shores, and islands of rocks, with the sinelle of the firre trees on them, was a variety for strangers; and the water being calme, they made use only of their oares; the trumpetts sounding, where the rocks were most uneven and made concavities, gave much delight by the resounding of seven or eight echoes to one sound.

Yett the multitudes of craggy rockes of vast greatnes, and huge talleness, with their uneven heads and ragged sides, filling all the shores, and making many islands, and those causing no smalle daunger in the passage, appeared (especially att first, and to the younger seamen) very dreadfull and amazing; butt after a little acquaintance with them, and constant being in their company, and the seamen knowing the passage, caused the lesse feare, and the seaven-fold answearing echoes, as if they had bin so many trumpetts, gave delight to the hearers with some admiration of that multiplying sound. Butt their cheerfullnes was increased by meeting with a boate, about two swedish miles from Stockholme, whose men informed White-locke, that the Amarantha was that day come into the Dollars; which good news added hopes and spirit to the company, of advancing in their voyage towards their longed for countrey: and the night seemed the lesse tedious, by discoursing of this providence, that the same day that White-



1654. Locke came away, his ship should fall down to be ready to  
 meet him, and not sooner, and wherof he knew nothing  
 May 31. before hand.

Clerke informed Whitelocke of the places by which they passed, and the condition of the countrey. They came into a very narrow way, and streights, about a bow shoot in length, where a great vessell could not passe, both for want of breadth and depth of water, the greater boate with Whitelocke striking the sands as she passed over: this way was to gett into the roade and channell for the ships from Stockholme to the Dollars, which is neer twenty swedish miles for the ships to goe about. From this streight they came againe into deep water, environed as before with rocks, and full of islands.

When they were within a mile of the dollars, the wind came about to east and north-east, very fayre and good to carry them out to sea, wheras before it was flatt against them. Heeruppon Whitelocke tooke occasion, the wind being now good, to order his galley to make way forth-right to the Amarantha, without going on shoare att all; which was done, although it seemed long, att the latter end of the way, the company weary, and the watermen tyred with rowing, though they did not att all rowe with that nimblenes and mettle, as the English use to doe.

When Whitelocke departed from Stockholme, the wind was contrary to him; after he was certefyed by the boate which he mett, that the Amarantha was in the Dollars, the wind suddainly changed, and was fayre for him, and, after this providence, they came in good time to the ship, the tedious passage of the night being over, wherin Whitelocke slept uppon the boards, and in the open aier; hardship enough for one of his age and condition, butt God was his protection.



## J U N E.

**H**AVING bin part of yesterday, and all the last night, 1654.  
 uppon the water, this morning, about seven a'clocke, June 1.  
 Whitelocke and all his company came to the Dollars,  
 and, without setting foot on shoare, they went on board  
 the ship Amarantha, lying there to expect them. And  
 although this was not usuall, butt passengers generally stay  
 sometime att this place till their ships be ready, and to make  
 provisions for their voyage, and spend some money att the  
 cabaret heer; yett Whitelocke, seeing the wind fayre, and  
 having all his company together in the boates, was unwill-  
 ing to lett them be scattered by going on shoare, which  
 might be troublesome and retard his voyage by getting them  
 all together agayne. For these reasons he commaunded all  
 his people to goe forthwith aboard the ship, as he himselfe  
 did, att which vice-admirall Clerke wondered, and sayd, he  
 had not seen the same done before.

This ship, the Amarantha, had never yett bin att sea,  
 and therefore the more daungerous to adventure in her first  
 voyage; butt she was well built, a fayre ship, of a good  
 burden, and had mounted in her forty pieces of brasse  
 cannon, two of them demy cannon, and she was well man-  
 ned, and of good force and strength for warre: she was a  
 good sayler, and would turne and tacke about well; she  
 held 100 persons of Whitelocke's followers, and most of his  
 baggage, besides her own marriners, about 200.



1654.

June 1.

The cabbins wherin Whitelocke was, were of an handsome make ; the breadth of the ship was the length of his bed-cabbin, and it was six or seven paces broad, and high enough for the tallest man : it was hung with red cloath, the furniture of the bed was rich cloath of gould and silver ; on the table was a rich carpet, and all over it a canopy with broad fringes of filke and gould and silver. Within the bed-cabbin was another roome for him to retire into, with a table and benches covered with red cloath. All the gentlemen had accommodations as the ship could afford.

Being all settled in the ship, they were faine to stay for the ship-boate, which the captain had sent for water ; and as soon as it was returned, about ten a'clocke in the morning, they weighed anchor, and putt the ship under sayle ; recommending themselves to the mercy and protection of him, who rules upon the waters as well as on drye land, and of whose goodnes they had so great experience.

They sayled by the place called the Scares, that is, the isles of rockes which are there in the water, and on both sides of the shoare, of a strange craggynes, largenes, and number : those in the sea are full of daunger, and often afford butt a very streight passage for the ships to goe between them ; and no other course is to avoyd them.

From hence the sea begins to widen herselfe towards the furthest point of land, which they call the Land's Ort, answerable to our english point of land, called the Land's End in Cornwall. The Land's Ort is eight swedish leagues from the Dollars, and hither they reached by the evening, the wind being east and south-east all this day.

About



About eleven a'clocke the last night the wind came about more to the south, yett Whitelocke advanced in his course, and gained some way, butt not much, the wind being almost against him; and so it continued in this morning, when there appeared a chayne of rockes, advancing themselves more then a swedish mile into the sea, and not farre from the isle of Oeland, to which rockes it is not good to approach too neer. They could not maintaine their course, butt to very small advantage, and by veering up and downe to gaine a little of the wind; and in this manner they spent this whole day: the wind continuing att south south-east, they did not advance much all this day, only kept what they had gained before, and held plying up and downe in that daungerous sea; their support was, that this was the good pleasure of their God, whose will the wind and waters doe obey.

1654.  
June 2.

Though the weather was not fowle, yett it was thicke with fogge, which arose att the foote of the horyson; and the marryners said, this weather was ordinary in these seas, butt very daungerous. In the evening some of the company made them pastime, to divert the tediousnes of the way and weather.

About midnight the wind came about somewhat fayrer then before, and Whitelocke gained a little in his course; att sun rising he discovered the isle of Gotland, eight leagues distant to the east from the isle of Oeland; afterwards the wind returned to the same quarter wherein it was yesterday.

3.

The isle of Oeland is neer the continent, extending itselſe in length by the shore eighteen swedish miles, butt hath not in breadth, in any place, above two swedish miles. This is the place where the prince of Sweden, now king, used to make



1654. make his residence, in a fayre castle, built of stone of this  
 June 3. island, not inferior to marble: these stones are in great request for pavements, pillars, and other uses and ornaments in building. The pillars of the king's chappell att Stockholm, great and high, well polished, and of divers colours, were brought from this island, and they have many of these stones in the buildings of the great lords.

This island is a place of the most field pleasure of any in this countrey, being open, and stored with red and fallow deer, with hares, and conies, and with partridges, which are scarce in other parts; butt heer the game is preserved for the prince's pleasure.

The isle of Gotland is about fourteen swedish miles in length, and five in breadth. It antiently belonged to the Swedes, till the Danes tooke it from them, and kept the possession of it, till the late warres between those two crownes, when the Swedes recovered it from the Dane; and, by the peace after that warre, the treaty left it to the Swede, and allowed for it the isle of Burnholme to the Dane, being neerer his dominions.

They report, that heertofore Gotland (belonging to the Gothes, from whom it hath the name) was famous for the traffique of all these quarters, and had in it a large towne called Wisby, where formerly certaine lawes were instituted touching the sea, which are observed to this day. Butt Lubec, and other towns on that side, having gott the trade from hence, and the sea, by inundations, having much diminished this isle, both it and the towne are become butt of smalle consideration.



The wind was little and very variable, and this day was 1654.  
 a calme, so that they could advance very little in their voyage. In the evening the wind grew fresh, and increased till three a'clocke the next morning, so that they made good way in their course: butt these deep seas began to rise, and the ship to rowle and tosse so much, that some of Whitelocke's people, sensible of it, and of the increasfing of the wind and waves, and of the marriners labour and disorder, began to be afrayd and ficke. Butt Whitelocke cherished and comforted them the best he could, and gave order for attendance uppon them, and that they should want nothing which the ship could afforde; the which was the more in his power, the commaund of it being wholly left to him by the queen; and, by his kindnes, and ceasing of the storme, they began to recover their courage, the wind changed, and it grew more calme after the ruffling.

The *Lord's day*. Still Whitelocke was toying on the Baltick sea; after three a'clocke in the morning he advanced a good way in his course; butt about ten a'clocke they discovered land, which was the isle of Burnholme, distant from the point of south of Oeland eighteen German leagues. It seemeth a plain and flatte ground, about eight swedish miles in length, and about five in breadth: this isle is fruitfull, and well peopled, abounding in pastures, so that it yields a good revenue in butter. Many witches are affirmed to be in this isle, and no place in this sea hath more shipwracks then uppon Burnholme. Some give the reason therof from the streight passe between this isle and the continent; yett is the coast clean and without rockes, and hath good roades: others attribute the cause of these shipwrackes to the great and daungerous sands about this, and the other isles of this sea, which (especially about this isle of Burnholme) doe lye out farre and shallow in the sea, on which many



1654. many ships have bin struck and lost; and heer Whitelocke's  
 June 4. ship was in some perill, butt it pleased God still to preserve  
 him.

He floated in sight of this island almost all this day, the wind veering into most points of the compass, and he was turned back from his course, and lost more then he gained of his way.

About nine a'clocke in the morning, the ship's company, having a minister on board with them, were att their exercises of devotion, which they have every morning, beginning with singing a psalme, as we doe; then the minister prayes, butt not long, and the conclusion is, to sing about two verses of another psalme, and so they part; except on the *Lord's day*, as this was, their chaplein preached a short sermon in the morning in swedish, butt none in the afternoon. Whitelocke, for his own company, had the usuall exercises of praying and preaching by his chaplein Mr. de la March, Mr. Ingelo being sick.

Towards the evening the wind began to be fresh againe; they kept their course neer Burnholme, and might discerne the castle. After Whitelocke was gone to rest, vice-admirall Clerke, who was on board with him, followed a ship to inquire if she heard any newes of a swedish ship loaden with salt from Portugall; att which some of Whitelocke's company taking offence, the vice-admirall desisted: butt, by this deviation, the Amarantha (which is not fleet of sayle) lost three leagues, which she was cast back in her course, and was brought in great daunger by sayling too neer the shore; butt the Lord guided them.

In



In the morning Whitelocke was out of sight of Burnholme, and pursued his course, the wind blowing a little in a good quarter. About nine a'clocke they descryed some ships, of which one seemed to be a great one; and coming neerer, they perceived an english ship to be with them. The Amarantha fired a gunne to warne them to strike sayle, she carrying the flag in her maine-top, and being a man of warre of Sweden.

1654.  
June 5.

The english captain did not obey, and Clerke commanded to shoote agayne att him; butt Whitelocke ordered Clerke first to send his boate, with some of Whitelocke's servants, to advertise the english captain that Whitelocke was in the swedish ship: they, coming on board, found the captain in choller, preparing to fight with the Swede, denying their soverainty on these seas; butt being informed by his countrymen, that the english ambassador was on board the swedish ship, he presently, and Mr. Fisher, a marchant, with him, came to Whitelocke, rejoicing to see him, and said, that if he had not bin there, the swedish vice-admirall should have had hott worke; butt now he stricke sayle to the ambassador, whom he acquainted, that all was well in England, that he had brought in his ship the commissioners to agree the differences between our common-wealth and Denmarke, who were now att Copenhagen; and that, when they passed the Sundt, the king of Denmarke's officers were very friendly to them. He told Whitelocke also, that two english frigotts, sent by the protector for Whitelocke's transportation, were arrived att Hambourgh, and waited for Whitelocke there: after giving him some wine, and discourse, Whitelocke dismissed this captain Morgan to proceed in his voyage to Dantzick, whither he was bound. Att his parting, all were friends, and Clerke gave him two gunnes after the swedish custome;



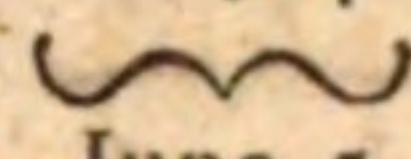
1654. butt Morgan answered him with seven pieces of ordnance;  
 then Clerke gave him two more gunnes, to which Morgan  
 June 5. gave two also, and a third a little while after.

The Amarantha having loitered by reason of the calme, which continued till the evening, they were most part of this day within sight of the isle of Rugen, neer the coast of Pomerland, and part of that dutchy, which fell in partage to one of the duke's sons, who there kept his court in a fayre castle, wherof somewhat yett remains. The island appears high to those that sayle by it, and hath in length about eight german miles, and about five in breadth; the king Gustavus tooke it, and it hath since continued in the possession of the Swedes, and was confirmed to them by the late treaty of Munster: the coast is full of white sands, and dangerous to those who are not well acquainted with the passages, which heerabout are streight, and a bank of sand comes farre out into the sea, on which Whitelocke was in great perill, within four fadome water in the night; butt they were glad to veere back againe, and tack about to escape the daunger.

The wind blew fresh from the north-east, by which he continued his course till about mid-night; when there came a hideous storme of wind, thunder, raine, and lightening, which caused them to furl their sayles, and lasted about three howers; butt the waves continued very high above twelve howers together afterwards, it being the nature of this sea, when it is once stirred, that, by reason of the great depth, it will not be still againe for many howers after.

Some of Whitelocke's company were much affrighted with this tempest, and not without cause; butt it pleased God  
 2 to



to cease the storme, and give fayre weather, and therby 1654.  
more cause to remember the experiences they have had of   
his divine goodnes throughout their whole voyage. June 5.

In the morning the wind continued fayre, and they 6.  
made good way, till towards eight a'clocke, when it grew  
calme till about seven a'clocke in the evening. All this day  
they were uppon the coast of Pomerland; one of the mar-  
riners, from the top-gallant, espying land, and a towne,  
informed them that it was Wismer; butt, comming neerer  
to the shore, they found it to be Rostock, eight leagues fur-  
ther from Lubec then Wismer is. Both these towns are  
subject to the crowne of Sweden, port towns, and of good  
trade: Rostock more famous to the High Dutch for their  
exceeding strong and thicke beere.

In the evening the wind blew fayre north-west; butt the  
skye grew thicke, and the night comming on, they, for  
feare of falling uppon the coast, tacked off againe to sea,  
and out of their course: about eleven a'clocke att night the  
storme beganne much more violent then the night before,  
continuing about six howers, to the imminent daunger of  
the ship to be over-fett, and foundered in the sea; butt still  
God preserved them.

About midnight was an horrible noyse; the thunder  
fierce, and strangely lowde, the skye all in flames, with the  
wonderfull lightnings; and though it be frequent to meet  
with great tempests of thunder and lightnings uppon this  
sea, and much more dreadfull then those in England, yett  
now the officers and marriners of the ship affirmed, that  
they never saw the like to this tempest, and that they were  
almost blind with the shining and flashes of this lightening.



1654. They saw also, on the land, houses burning sett on fire  
 by the lightening, any flame wherof fastening upon the  
 combustibile matter of the ship, the same had instantly bin  
 June 6. fired, and all within her inevitably had perished.

Butt still God was their defence and deliverer: the tempest was so outrageous, that they were forced to take downe their sayles, and lett fall their anchors. Heer they found the difference between Sweden and this countrey; there, att midnight, one might plainly reade without a candle; heer, though neerer the summer solstice, and the dayes att longest, they found att least four howers of darke night, as seeming neer the winter.

7. The tempest began to cease about five a'clocke in the morning, and it grew fayre weather, the wind comming good for them to continue and finish their voyage: thus God preserved them from the daunger of the last night, as of many times before, the which Whitelocke held himselve obliged more largely to describe, as so many monuments to him and his company of the goodnes of God towards them, and to preserve the memory therof, as arguments to him and his wholly to depend upon that God, of whom they have had so much experience.

The wind continued fayre, and they sayled all along in the sight of land, drawing neerer and neerer to it, which was pleasant to those who had bin in such stormes, and were not a little longing to be att their native home.

They came, about ten a'clocke in the morning, to the rode att Lubec; and no sooner was the ship settled there, butt the wind ceased and blew not att all, butt it became a great calme; wherin also the providence and goodnes of  
 God



God was seen, that had they not come to an anchor att 1654.  
this very moment, they must have bin still roaming on the June 7.  
sea, till the wind had come about agayne for them, and  
perhaps might have bin kept out att sea many dayes longer.

They were all filled with joy, having passed one halfe of  
their voyage, and seeing the place of their first discent on  
land. The Amarantha, having lett fall her anchors, fired  
two gunnes, and a ship of the duke of Curland's in the  
roade answered them with three.

This roade is a gulfe, between two armes of land, att the  
first entrance from one another about a league, butt it be-  
comes more narrow as one approacheth neerer to the mouth  
of the river, which is called Trave, and divides the two  
dutchyes of Mecklenbergh and Holstein. This is the only  
roade or haven belonging to the town of Lubec, and is of  
good defence and safety to secure the riding of ships, and  
of conveniency for the trade of that town into the Baltick  
sea.

After this perilous voyage of eight dayes sayling on the  
angry Baltick seas, escaping the dismall infinite vast craggy  
rockes, seen and unseen, and the covered sands, and daun-  
gerous coasts, in the highest stormes; it pleased him, who  
giveth bounds to the deep waters and stilleth the waves  
therof, to conduct Whitelocke and all his people in safety  
to this haven. They were not negligent to prepare for  
their going on shore, in order wherunto Whitelocke sent  
collonell Potley and some of his servants to land, to pro-  
vide horses for his coach and waggons for his trayne and  
baggage; purposing to goe that night to Lubec, being butt  
two german leagues from Tremon, and the dayes now att  
longest.

Potley,



1654. Potley, according to order, gave notice to the governor  
 June 7. of Tremon of Whitelocke's comming on shore in the territories of his masters, the lords of Lubec, and provided boates, horses, waggons, and all things necessary, with diligence and dexterity.

Whilest this was doing, Whitelocke calles his company together into his cabbin, where they gave thanks to God for their safe arrivall in this place, and humbly prayed for the continuance of his blessing, and presence with them, the rest of their journey yett to come.

After dinner, Whitelocke sent for vice-admirall Clerke and captain Sinclere into his cabbin, where he gave them thanks for the care and paines they had taken for him and his company, and for their perticular respects to himselfe, and observance of his desires; wherof, he said, he would by letters acquaint his majesty of Sweden, and report to the protector their respects to him.

He desired them to accept a smalle testimony of his thankfullnes for their civilities: he gave the vice-admirall sixty dollers to distribute to the marriners, and sixty dollers more to the officers of the ship; that is, the master and his mate, the boate-swaine, the constable (so they call the master gunner), the gunner's mate, and the rest.

To captain Sinclere he gave eighty duckets, and to the vice-admirall one hundred duckets, which were the best compliments, and thankfully accepted by them; and Whitelocke was the more liberall in these rewards, being to strangers, and for the honor of his nation.

The



The boates being gone with the coaches, baggage, and most of the people, and the rest not unwilling to be on shoare, Whitelocke, with most of his gentlemen, went in one of the ship-boates: the vice-admirall bare him company, and did him the honor to steere the boate himselfe; the rest of the company went in the other ship-boate.

1654.

June 7.

After Whitelocke was gone off the length of two or three boates, and whilest the other boate lay by the side of the ship, they fired forty pieces of ordnance, which, being so very neer, did, with the wind, or feare of the cannon, strike downe some that were in the boate, who were more then frightened, in so much, that one of them, after he came to Lubec, continued very ill with sounding fitts; butt, by the care of doctor Whistler, and good cordials, through the blessing of God, he recovered and was well agayne.

They went about halfe a league by water from the ship to the mouth of the river, where there is a little fort with some great gunnes mounted, and, without that, are smalle towers, for lights to direct the seamen, and a village, called Tremon, where they landed, all belonging to the citty of Lubec. Mon, in High Dutch, signifies a mouth, and Tre is the name of the river; so Tremon is the mouth of the river Tre.

Att their landing stood, ready to receive them, a tall old man, with a long white venerable beard; he wore a broad belt, with a long baskett hilted sword; he was a colonell, and governor of that fort: he spake to Whitelocke in High Dutch, which Potley interpreted to this effect:

“ My



1654.

June 7.

“ My lord ambaffador,

“ In the name of my masters, the lords of Lubec, I bid  
“ your excellence wellcome on shore and to this place.”

Whitelocke answered him as shortly.

“ Noble collonell,

“ I heartily thanke you for your civility, wherof I hope,  
“ ere long, to have the opportunity to acquaint your  
“ masters the lords of Lubec.”

As Whitelocke passed by, they fired three gunnes from the fort; the collonell conducted Whitelocke to his house neer the landing place, multitudes of people flocking together; the house was not stately, nor very convenient. There they were intertained with great store of very strong beere, which they call Mum, and the collonell was exceeding free to call for large flaggons of it for Whitelocke, and for all his people; which Whitelocke apprehending to have bin the generosity of the governor, yett fearing some disorder by it among the inferior sort, and being whispered by collonell Potley, that the governor expected to be payd for his drinke, which he usually sold to the passengers, Whitelocke ordered the reckoning to be payd, and hasted from this honorable ale-house to his coach.

It was about four a'clocke in the afternoon when Whitelocke went from Tremon, from whence to Lubec is two dutch miles, that is, eight of our english miles; and coming with such a trayne, and to passe the usuall ceremony in such cases to the lords of Lubec, Whitelocke sent Monf. Bark-



Barkman, and one of his servants before, to salute the lords <sup>1654.</sup>  
 of Lubec in the name of the protector, as friends to the <sup>June 7.</sup>  
 common-wealth of England, and to advertise them, that  
 the english ambaffador, having occasions to paffe through  
 this citty, and to be there this day, he thought it requisite  
 to give them notice of it.

In the mid-way between Tremon and Lubec, they came  
 to a ferry over the Trave; the boate was large enough to  
 carry att once two coaches and many horfes.

Att each end of the ferry-boate, fuch artificiall worke is  
 made with plankes, that it ferves both att the comming in  
 and going out of the boate, meeting with the plankes on  
 each fide of the fhore: by the weight of coach, horfes,  
 waggons, cattle, or men, the plankes are fo wrought, that  
 they rife and fall according to the weight uppon them, and  
 fo as both thofe on the fhore and the ends of the boate  
 come to be even, and without more trouble in the paffing  
 over them then a bridge would be.

The great company, and fome mishap of tearing one of  
 his coaches, hindered Whitelocke's journey; butt they  
 went on in good time. About an english mile before they  
 came to Lubec, fome company appearing on the roade,  
 Whitelocke's lacquayes alighted out of their waggons, and  
 Whitelocke was mett uppon the way by an antient perfon  
 of a good portly carriage, with a great white beard, and  
 a greater ruffe: he was attended with four coaches, the  
 firft had fix good horfes in it, and was handsome butt not  
 rich; the gentleman being alighted, and then Whitelocke  
 alfo, he came and faluted Whitelocke, and fpake to him in  
 the High Dutch, to this effect.



1654.

June 7.

“ My lord ambaffador,

“ My masters, the lords of Lubec, have ſent me with  
 “ their coaches to conduct your excellence into their citty,  
 “ and to bid you wellcome hither ; and to assure you like-  
 “ wiſe, that whatſoever this citty will afford ſhall be att  
 “ your excellency’s ſervice.”

Whitelocke returned this anſwear.

“ Sir,

“ I eſteem it an honor to receive this reſpect from the  
 “ lords of Lubec, your maſters, for which, ere long, I  
 “ hope to have the opportunity to give them thankes, and,  
 “ in the meane time, give me leave to acknowledge your  
 “ civility.”

This perſon they call the marſhall of the town, whom  
 the lords ſent to meet Whitelocke, to anſwear his civility of  
 ſending to them, which they tooke kindly.

Then a young gentleman, well mounted and habited,  
 mett Whitelocke on the way with a pacquett of three weeks  
 letters from England, which, he ſaid, Mr. Miſſenden, his  
 father, received from Mr. Bradeshaw, the protector’s reſi-  
 dent att Hambourgh, with order to ſend them to White-  
 locke to Lubec.

Whitelocke went into the coach of the lords of Lubec ;  
 with him were the marſhall, and collonell Potley to inter-  
 pret for him.

The



The countrey, through which they passed, was pleasant and fruitfull, stored with groves, and fields of corne not inclosed, butt much like the champion countryes of England, only more woody, and seemed the pleasanter to those who were lately come out of Sweden, and from the Baltick sea. Part of the countrey was the dutchy of Mecklenbergh, and part of it Holstein.

1654.  
June 7.

When they drew neer the citty, Whitelocke ordered that his staffers, and lacquayes in their iiveryes, should walke by his coach bare, and his pages after them; then his gentlemen, and others, in the other coaches and waggons, in which equipage they entered the citty.

Att the first fort they saluted Whitelocke with three pieces of ordnance, and att the gates of the citty were good guards, with their musketts; the streets were filled with people, and many in the windowes, not so many men as women; and those of the best ranke and habit were with their bodyes and smocke sleeves, like the maides in England in hott weather; heere the best women, whose age will beare it, are thus habited, and with it sometimes riche clothes and jewells.

When they were come into the citty, the marshall tooke his leave of Whitelocke, saying, that he must goe to the lord, to advertise him of Whitelocke's arrivall.

Whitelocke passed through a great part of the towne before he came to the inne appointed for his reception, which was fayrer without then within doores; the roomes for eating and lodging neither handsome nor well finished.



1654. About halfe an hower after he was come to the inne, the  
 June 7. lords of the town sent one of their officers to him, to know  
 what time he would be pleased to appoint for them to come  
 and salute him. Whitelocke answered, that whensoever  
 they thought fitt to doe him the honor to visit him, they  
 should be wellcome, and left them to the time which should  
 be most convenient for their own occasions.

Being settled, and att a little quiet, he read his letters  
 from England. Thurloe acquaints him, that the issue of his  
 negotiation, and the prudent conduct of it, had very good  
 acceptance in England, whither his returne was much  
 wished and prayed for. Then he informes him of all the  
 newes, both forein and domestick, and the readines of the  
 protector to send ships for him to Hambourgh.

From Mr. Cokain he had severall letters about his bills of  
 exchange, and other perticular affayres: he had also letters  
 from Mr. Taylor, from resident Bradeshawe, from his wife,  
 and from severall loving friends in England.

8. In the morning, the lords of Lubec sent againe to White-  
 locke, to know what time they might come to visit him; he  
 answered, att their own time, and that they should be  
 wellcome to him within an hower: there came to him  
 Martin Bokel, doctor of the lawes, syndick of the citty,  
 of good reputation for his learning and abilities, Jerome  
 Bilderbeck and Matthew Rodde, senators and lords of the  
 citty. The syndick spake in french to Whitelocke to this  
 effect: "That, by commaund of the lords of this citty, those  
 gentlemen, part of their number, and himselfe, were come  
 in the name of the lords of Lubec to salute Whitelocke, and  
 to



to bid him wellcome to their citty; that they rejoiced att 1654.  
his safe arrivall heer, and for the good successe of those June 8.  
affayres wherin he had bin imployed."

Whitelocke answered them in french, the same language in which they spake to him, and which is expected in these parts, to this effect: "That the lords of Lubec had testified much respect to the protector of England by the honor done to his servant, of which he would informe his highnes; and, in the meane time, he thanked them for the favour of this visit."

After many complements, Whitelocke gave them the precedence into his lodging, which is the custome heer, as in Sweden; and their discourse was in french in these matters of ceremony: being sate together in his bed-chamber, the syndick told Whitelocke, that he had a message to deliver to him from his lords; and, according to the custom in matters of buisnes, he desired to deliver what he had to say in latin, and then spake to him in the following oration\*.

\* See appendix.  
B. B.  
for translation.

" *Illustrissime et excellentissime domine legate,*

" *Amplissimus senatus lubicensis grato animo recognoscit,*  
" *celeberrimam nationem Anglicanam, multiplici favore à*  
" *multis retro annis, populum mercatoresq; hujus civitatis*  
" *affecisse, atq; etiam faviente inter utraq; respublicas du-*  
" *rissimo bello, incolas nostras gratiam, et, ex occasione*  
" *suarum navium ad mare captarum, justitiam accepisse:*  
" *amplissimus senatus humillimè gratias suas refert, quas*  
" *melius testari non potuerunt, quam erga personam illius*  
" *conditionis tantæq; eminentiæ quantæ excellentiam*  
" *vestram esse acceperant, suo speciali respectu, ad hæc cum*  
" *etiam extraordinarii legati munere à clarissimo illo statu*



1654. “ nunc dignissimè fungatur. Gratulatur amplissimus senatus  
 June 8. “ negotiationis ab excellentia vestra peractæ fælicem suc-  
 cessum, ut et tanti viri in suam civitatem adventum:  
 “ Quod si apud se in sua civitate aliquid sit excellentiæ  
 “ vestræ acceptu dignum, illud quicquid sit offerre in man-  
 “ datis habemus.

“ Dolore etiam afficitur senatus, se tam sero de excellen-  
 “ tiæ vestræ adventu certiolem esse factum, ut rationes unde  
 “ tantus hospes, et qui in ipsius comitatu sunt, pro merito  
 “ exciperentur; melius inire non potuerit, se tamen sperare  
 “ à clementia vestra ipsis id crimini non datum iri. Per  
 “ nos rogant hujus urbis magistratus, excellentiæ vestræ  
 “ placeat, cervisiæ Lubicensis viniq; Rhenani (quod offi-  
 “ ciariis excellentiæ vestræ tradi curaverant) parvulum utut  
 “ munus boni consulere.

“ Excellentissime domine, candore vestro freti speramus,  
 “ non nobis id vitio datum iri, si etiam hoc temporis articulo  
 “ paucula ex rebus nostris vestræ excellentiæ consideranda  
 “ proponamus: intempestivè fatemur importuni sumus, sed  
 “ certiores facti, non diuturnam fore vestram in civitate nostra  
 “ moram, id solliciti timemus, ne aliquando nobis similis  
 “ offeratur opportunitas; ideo à dominis nostris jubemur  
 “ excellentiam vestram certiolem facere, quam plures hujus  
 “ urbis naves inter navigandum negotii causâ, occurrentes  
 “ navibus præliaribus Anglis, ab iisdem examen subiisse,  
 “ liberatas tamen extemplò et dimissas, quod nihil suppeti-  
 “ arum hostibus vestris contulisse deprehendebantur; nihil-  
 “ ominus easdem naves à quibusdam privatis vestris capto-  
 “ ribus, Capers dictis, non multò post apprehensas fuisse,  
 “ et huc usq; detentas esse, magno dominorum detrimento.

“ Sperat



“ Sperat amplissimus senatus, intercedente excellentia 1654.  
 “ vestra, ex justitia et favore domini protectoris, restituti-  
 “ onem earundem secundum jus et æquum suo populo June '8.  
 “ futurum, quem in finem, tam magistratus, quàm hujusce  
 “ civitatis populus suppliciter rogat favorem et amicitiam  
 “ celsitudinis suæ domini protectoris, et illustrissimæ rei-  
 “ publicæ Angliæ, in iis, quæ vel commercia vel etiam alia  
 “ spectant, posse sibi continuari.”

After a little pause, Whitelocke made answer in latin to the syndick's speech, to the effect following\*.

\* See ap-  
 pendix  
 C. C.  
 for trans-  
 lation.

“ Spectatissimi viri,

“ Rectè à vobis observatum est, antiquam fuisse, inter  
 “ populum Anglicanum civesq; lubicenses, amicitiam et  
 “ mutuam officiorum benevolentiam; nec defuisse unquam  
 “ nobis, data occasione, domini mei domini protectoris rei-  
 “ publicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, animum benevolentissi-  
 “ mum, quem integrum adhuc à serenissima sua celsitudine  
 “ erga vos conservari nullus dubito.

“ Nec suspicio mihi est, quin amplissimus senatus, hujusq;  
 “ celeberrimæ urbis liberi cives, dominum meum dominum  
 “ protectorem, honore omni debito prosequantur, et bene-  
 “ volo affectu quotquot Anglorum, commercii aut conver-  
 “ sationis causâ, apud vos appellere voluerint.

“ Referte, quæso, meo nomine, amplissimo hujus civitatis  
 “ senatui, gratias ob respectum erga dominum meum do-  
 “ minum protectorem, rempublicamq; Anglicanam, in ho-  
 “ norificâ mei eorum ministri receptione significatum, tam  
 “ in appulsu meo ad suum portum, quàm ad civitatem suam  
 “ aditu, nec non in munere quod mihi offerre ipsis placuit:  
 “ honori



1654. “ honori duco quod per me, in suis negotiis, dominum pro-  
 June 8. “ tectorem compellare ipsis visum est, quod munus in me  
 “ libenter recipio præstandum, quamprimum Deo placuerit  
 “ ad serenissimam suam celsitudinem mihi reditum indul-  
 “ gere, cui id curæ est, ut unicuique quod est juris uniuscu-  
 “ jusque tribuatur. Non equidem dubito, quin particularia  
 “ favoris et respectus erga hanc celeberrimam civitatem spe-  
 “ cimina re ipsa effecta comperiamini.”

The syndick replied in french, that they did give many thanks to Whitelocke, in that he was pleased to take in so good part the respect of this citty to him, and desired, that if there were any thing heer which might doe him service, that he would command it: Whitelocke sayd, he came by this citty in a desire to see it, and the fortifications of it, which, if they pleased to give him leave to doe, he should take it as a favour.

They said, that, even now, the senate had ordered Monsieur Bilderbeck and the commaunder of their forces to waite uppon Whitelocke, att such time as he should appoint, to view the citty, with their fortifications and magazines, and whatsoever heer should be thought by him worthy of his sight.

Whitelocke thanked them, and discoursed touching the government of the citty, and what lawes they used: to which the syndick answered, that their government was chiefly and generally by the municipall lawes and customes of the citty.

Of these gentlemen, and others, Whitelocke learned that this citty is the chiefe and most antient of the Hans townes of Germany, and a kind of free state; that they have power  
 to



to send commissioners, as publique ministers, to any foreign prince or state, to treat and conclude with them about any matters relating to their citty; and that, without the leave or knowledge of the emperor.

1654.  
June 8.

The people of the citty chiefly are the marchants and artificers, most of them tradesmen; and both they, who are masters, and their servants, being constantly imployed in trades and personall buisnesses, they are the lesse troublesome in the government of them: as to the criminall part, idleness, being the mother of mischief, causeth quarrells and debaucheries, from whence pilferings, robberies, fightings, and murders doe arise; butt where people are kept to occupations, traffique, and imployments (as they are heer), it breedes civility, peaceableness of disposition, desire of rest and quiet, and a plentifull subsistence, and gives lesse occasion of proceedings in criminall offences.

Butt as to suits uppon bargains and contracts, they are the more, bicause there be so many contracts as marchants and tradesmen must make; yett those suits are heer brought to a speedy determination within themselves, by their ordinary judges, which are three, and usually assisted with a doctor or licenciate in the lawes, who are in great esteem in this countrey.

These judges commonly sitt thrice a week to determine civill controversies, which they doe by their own lawes and customes, which also have much affinity to the civill law, especially as to the formes and manners of their proceedings; and where the matter contended for exceeds the value of 1000 ricks dollers, there the party grieved may, if he please, appeale from the sentence of these judges to the imperiall chamber att Spire, as they also doe in capitall causes;



1654. causes; butt civill causes under the value of 1000 dollers  
 June 8. are finally determined within themselves, and no appeale  
 lyes from them.

They acknowledge the emperor as their protector, butt afford him no gabells or taxes, butt what their deputies, whom they elect and send to the generall diette of the empire, doe assent unto.

Their chiefe officers are a burgh master, like our major, twenty-four senators, like our common councill, and a syndick, as our recorder. These are the chiefe councill and judicatory of the citty, and order all the publique affayres therof; only in some extraordinary occasions of making lawes, or forein treatyes, matters of warre and peace, the people of the town make choice of deputies, sometimes forty or fifty, more or lesse, as they please, who sitt and consult with the senate, and by their votes by the people, who willingly submit therunto.

The town house of their Guildhall is reasonably fayre, not extraordinary.

Their court of justice is below, att the upper end of a large hall, made four square, with seats, like the court of exchequer in England; above this is another court or councill house, greater then that belowe, which is for the meeting of the deputies of the Hans Townes, who usually all assemble heer: they have also severall other chambers for the meetings and consultations of their own senators and officers, about the affayres of the citty.

In the afternoon, the commaunder or lieutenant generall of the forces of the town, whom they call obrist lieutenant,



Monfieur Andreas Keifer, and the fenator Bilderbeck, came, <sup>1654.</sup>  
 with four of the citty coaches, to accompany Whitelocke to <sup>June 8.</sup>  
 fee the town and fortifications of it. The fenator fpake only  
 latin; the lieutenant fpake good french; they went through  
 moft parts of the towne, and found the figure of it exactly  
 done in painting in a table in their magazin, with the forti-  
 fications of it: uppon the view of the whole town, it feemed  
 a pleasant and noble citty.

It is of great antiquity, freedome, priviledges, trade,  
 politie, and ftrength; few in thefe parts exceeding it. Not  
 unhealthfull in the fituation, beautifull in the buildings,  
 profitable in the commerce, ftiong in the fortifications, and  
 rich in the inhabitants.

The ftreets are large and fayre, kept clean and fweet;  
 the houfes built of bricke, generally uniforme, moft in the  
 frontifpices, and covered with tile: att the entry into them,  
 ufually the firft and lower roome is largeft, paved with  
 Orland ftone, full of ftreakes of red and white, and fome  
 with black and white rich marble.

In this firft roome they ufe to fett their beft houfhould ftuffe,  
 as the chiefe roome for intertainment; yett they will alfo  
 in fome part of the roome have a partition with boards, above  
 a man's height, for a kitchen, where they drefse meate, and  
 hang their bacon and other provifion, which are not out of  
 fight nor fmelle; and heer alfo in this roome fome of their  
 goods of marchandife are placed; butt the better fort keep  
 their houfes more neate, and have kitchens and larders out  
 of viewe.

In the fecond ftory are ordinarily the lodging roomes,  
 and fome for intertainment; the third and fourth ftories are



1654. granaries and store-houses, which they hold better for such  
 uses then cellars and lower roomes, which they say cause  
 June 8. dammage to the commodities.

The countrey about, for a league, and in some parts two leagues, or more, belongs to the citty, is within their jurisdiction, and is fruitfull and pleasant, sweetly watered by the Trave, adorned by the groves and meadowes, and many pleasant summer houses for the recreation of the cittizens.

The town is regularly and strongly fortified; the more, being situated in a plaine and lowe countrey, with the rivers and waters about it; the grafts of the workes are large and deep, full of water on all sides: between the bullwarkes are large places, sufficient to draw together 500 men in each vacant place; and on the banks of some of the ditches are lowe thorne hedges, kept cutt, as good for defence as palizadoes. There be many pieces of ordnance mounted on severall parts of the workes, chiefly on the bullwarkes, and divers of them are demy cannon: the fortifications are about a league in compasse; the Trave furnisheth water for all the grafts, and the earth with which the lines are made, is of a good sort, and well turfed.

They are well stored with armes and ammunition, which Whitelocke was admitted to see in their arcenall, which is a large house; in the lower roome were twelve mortar pieces of severall sizes, and 200 pieces of brasse ordnance, founded in the towne, some of them great culverin, one of an extraordinary length: butt there was neither powder nor balle; that was kept elsewhere; butt heer were the utenfells to loade and cleanse the gunnes, hung up in order; and the carryages were strong and good.

The



The story above this was furnished with armes, few for horse or pike-men, butt many musketts and swords disposed in rankes the whole length of the roome, with bandaliers between, and cases for bulletts beneath: att the upper end of the roome hung certain great swords, with which traitors had bin beheaded; at the lower end of the roome were many halberts; divers of the musketts were firelockes, others for match, and some with double barrells. There was in all (by conjecture) armes for 12,000 foot, few pikes or horse armes, butt musketts, as most usefull for a town; and, according to the custome in these parts, where the companies in the town-militias are only musketiers, they holding pikes not proper, butt in the field, and against horse.

1654.  
June 8.

The forces of this citty constantly in pay are 1500 men, besides twenty-five companies of the cittizens, each company consisting of 200 men, and two troupes of horse of the cittizens.

Their chiefe strength under God, consisting in the bodyes of their cittizens, proper and stout men, who, if they come to fight pro aris et focis, for religion, liberty, wives, and children, and estates, for their all, are full of courage; not like mercenary, unfixt, unfaithfull men, whose trade is in bloud, and who are pests to mankind.

Att their guildhall, they intertained Whitelocke and his company with wine and sweet-meats, butt not profusely: after a long and large toure, they brought Whitelocke back to his inne, and did him the honor to sup with him; and, with much respect and civility, the obrist lieutenant and senator, after supper, tooke their leaves of Whitelocke.

Divers



1654. Divers men and women of the best quality of the cittizens  
June 8. came with their children to Whitelocke's inne to see him,  
and many of them would stand by whilest he was at meales :  
he caused his people to shew all civility to them, as himselfe  
did, saluting the gentlemen, and seeming to offer to kisse  
the womens hands, the salutation of the lip not being in these  
countrys allowed.

The lords sent a guard of twelve musquetiers to attend  
Whitelocke, which were placed att his doore, and in the  
street, and relieved by others during the time of Whitelocke's  
stay heer, as an expression of their respects to him.

The town musitians, who were masters, well accoutred  
and behaved, and played some english lessons, and the  
town trumpetts and drummes, came likewise to shew their  
respects to Whitelocke, butt the more readily, in expecta-  
tion of some reward from him; which expences cannot  
honorably be avoyded.

Whitelocke's four pages, eight lacquayes, and four  
groomes, besides the gentlemens lacquayes, in his livery,  
walked bare by his coach side when he went abroad; him-  
selfe was in his plaine grey english cloth suite, with the  
queen of Sweden's jewell att his breast: the people were  
full of respect to him in their salutations as he passed by  
them.

The secretary of the english company att Hambourgh  
came to Whitelocke, from the resident and company there,  
to invite him to the english house there, with expression of  
much ceremony and respect to him as their countryman.

Whitelocke



Whitelocke was not willing to stay longer then one day 1654. in this town, and therefore ordered his officers to make preparations of horses and waggons to remove from hence to-morrowe; and understanding that it was forty english miles from hence to Hambourgh, and much of the way badde, he thought it too long a journey for him, with so great a trayne and hired horses, to travayle in one day, and therefore ordered to goe from hence to-morrow in the afternoon, to lye att a village midway between Lubec and Hambourgh. June 8.

The lords of Lubec, with much courtesy, offered him to lodge in a house of theirs three leagues from hence, and to make use of their horses; butt he thought it not convenient, the house not being furnished, and their horses not used to travayle, and he having sent before to the village midway to take up his quarters; for which reasons he excused it to the lords, yett with many thankes for their courteous offers.

Severall gentlemen of the english company at Hambourgh, and among them his nephew, Sir Humphrey Benett's son, came hither to visit and accompany Whitelocke to Hambourgh. 9.

The senators, and syndick, and obrist lieutenant, who had bin before with Whitelocke, came to take their leaves of him. From them and others Whitelocke learnt, that the religion professed in this citty is after the doctrine of Luther, and the Augustine confession; yett some Calvinists are permitted (though not publiquely) among them, and some papists are also connived att, though not publickly tollerated to exercise their worship; yett some of them live in a college of cannons, who have a fayre house and good revenues in this citty.

They



1654. They have many images and crucifixes in their churches :  
 { June 9. one, made of earth, of the Virgin Mary, very exactly, is be-  
 lieved by many good wives of the town, that, uppon wor-  
 shiping and praying to it, they shall become fruitfull.

In the same church is a rare tablet of the passion of our Saviour, admired by artists for the rare painting and lineaments of it. Above the altar, is a little image of our Lady, so contrived with wires fastened to it, that one, being hid on the other side of it, may make it turne forward and backward, to the admiration of the multitude of spectators, who know by the motion of the image, whither the offerings which they make, and lay uppon the altar, be acceptable or not : if one gives a small offering, the image turnes away from it in disdain of it ; if it be a fatt offering, it turnes towards it, in token of acceptance ; and though they tell these stories themselves, yett still they retaine these images and trumperies among them.

This church is of a good length and breadth, butt the height is not proportionable : it hath few monuments of note, only some of their bishops and channons, among which one is indeed remarkable, which they will needs have to be believed, where a channon was buryed some hundreds of years since, yett, now, sometimes is heard to knocke in his grave, wheruppon instantly some one or other of his surviving brethren, the channons, gives up the ghost, and comes to the dead channon att his call.

From hence Whitelocke went and viewed the other churches, all alike furnished with images and crucifixes, and full of pews, fitted according to the quality of the parishioners : the churches are built of bricke, and some of them covered



covered with copper, which they brought from Sweden in 1654.  
elder times.

June 9.

They use a litturgy, not much differing from our old book of common-prayer: their ministers are grave and formall; they commend them for pious and learned, and good preachers; butt Whitelocke, not having the favour to see one of them att his lodging, can give the lesse perticular account of them.

Whitelocke also learnt, that the trade of this citty is the most of any town on this side the Baltick sea, having a convenient port or roade att Tremon, belonging to this citty, from whence they send into all parts of that sea, and have the advantage for the commerce of copper, deale, hempe, flaxe, pitch, tarre, and all the commodities of those parts; and by this port, they save the trouble and charge of going about through the Sundt, which Southerne marchants doe.

Before the Swedes had much traffique, and built their own ships, and imployed their own marriners, which is not antient, Lubec did more flourish, and had the sole trade of Sweden, and of venting their commodities againe into all parts of the world; wherby the Lubecers grew great and rich, especially by the copper and iron, which they brought from Sweden hither, and wrought it into utinsells and armes, and then carryed it back to Sweden for the use of the inhabitants there; who, growing in time more wise, and learning to worke their own materialls, and to build and imploy their own ships in trade, and the citty of Hambourgh growing up and increasing in trade, and perticularly by the staple for english cloth being there settled, and those of Lubec not admitting strangers among them, their town began to decay, and to lessen in their trade and wealth, and



1654. is not now so considerable as in former times: yett still they  
 June 9. drive a good trade into the Baltick sea, and other parts,  
 butt not with so great ships as others use, which they build  
 att home of about 150 and 200 tunnes; and they affirme,  
 that they have built heer ships of 400 tunnes, butt there  
 is difficulty for them to goe downe to the river, by reason  
 of the shallowes, which yett serves to bring up their com-  
 modities in great boates by the river, from the ships to this  
 towne. They find the smaller vessells usefull for their trade;  
 and to build them, they are provided of good store of  
 timber out of Germany, Denmarke, and Sweden; and by  
 their consent, the king of Denmarke doth sometimes make  
 use of their town and carpenters to build ships for himselfe.

About three a'clocke in the afternoon, the baggage and  
 most of Whitelocke's inferior servants went away: the lords  
 offered Whitelocke a party of their horse for the guard of  
 his person; butt he (with many thanks for their courtesy)  
 refused it, having store of company well armed of his own  
 retinue, besides some English of Hambourgh who were come  
 to him.

The Lubecers commended the sobriety and plainness of  
 Whitelocke and his company; only they said, his liveries  
 were very noble; and they wondered that they saw no  
 more drinking among them, and that he had so constant  
 exercises of religious duties in his family.

The senators and syndick came againe to complement  
 Whitelocke for the lords, and to wish him a good journey;  
 and, after ceremonies past, about four a'clocke in the after-  
 noon, Whitelocke tooke his coach for Hambourgh; he had  
 another coach and four waggons for his people: as he  
 passed through the streets, multitudes of all sorts stood to see  
 him



him goe by, respectively saluting him. Att the gates were 1654.  
 guards of foldiers, and having past the last port, they saluted June 9.  
 him with three pieces of ordnance, according to their  
 custome, butt with no vollies of smalle shott; and so he  
 tooke his leave of Lubec.

Being come into the roade, and his pages and lacquayes  
 in their waggons, he made what haste he could in his jour-  
 ney with hired horses, and so much company.

The countrey was pleasant and fruitfull, groves of wood,  
 fields of corne, pastures, brookes, and meadowes adorning  
 it: it is an open campagne; few hedges, butt some little  
 ones made with drye wood, like our hurdles, for fencing  
 their gardens and dividing their corn grounds.

The way was exceeding bad, especially for this time of  
 the year, full of deep holes and sloughs in some places, and  
 of great stones in others. This dutchy of Holtstein seems to  
 take its name from Holt, which, with them, and in Sweden,  
 and with us, signifies wood, and stein, which is a stone;  
 and this countrey is very full of wood and stone: yett is  
 it fruitfull, and, like England, delightfull to the view,  
 butt it is not so full of townes, there not being one in  
 the way between Lubec and this night's quarter, which is  
 five german, twenty english, miles. Butt a few finalle houses  
 lye scattered by the way; and about four miles from Kettell,  
 this night's lodging, was a fayre brick house by the side of  
 a large pond, which is the house belonging to Lubec, where  
 they offered Whitelocke to be intertained, and he found  
 cause afterwards to repent his not accepting their courtesy.

When they came to the lamentable lodging taken up for  
 him this night, they found in all butt two beddes for their



1654. whole company : the beddes were made only of strawe and  
 June 9. fleas mingled together ; the antichamber was like a great  
 barne, wherin was the kitchin on the one side, the stable on  
 the other side ; the cattle, hogges, waggons, and coaches  
 were also in the same great chamber together.

They made themselves as merry as they could in this  
 posture, Whitelocke cheering and telling them, that it was  
 in their way home, and therefore to be borne with the lesse  
 regret.

They of the house excused the want of accommodations,  
 bicause the warre had raged there, and the soldiers had pil-  
 laged the people of all they had, who could not yett recover  
 their former happy and plentiful condition ; which was not  
 helpfull to Whitelocke and his people, who must take things  
 as they were, and make the best shift they could.

His officers had provided meate sufficient for them ; he  
 caused fresh straw enough to be layd all over the roome,  
 which was the more tollerable in this hott season : he him-  
 selfe lay in one of his coaches, his sons, and some of his  
 servants in strawe, near him ; the rest of the company, men  
 and women, on straw, where they chose to lye in the roome,  
 only affording place for the horses, cows, sheep, and hogges,  
 which quartered in the same chamber together with this good  
 company.

10. In his coach (through God's goodnes) Whitelocke slept  
 well, and all his people on the ground on fresh strawe, yett  
 not so soundly as to hinder their early rising this morning,  
 when they were quickly ready, none having bin putt to the  
 trouble of undressing themselves the last night.

His



His carryages, twelve great waggons, went away about 1654. four a'clocke this morning; some of the gentlemen's servants in the vanne, one uppon each waggon; his porter, butlers, and others, in a waggon in the reare, with store of pistolls, screwed gunnes, swords, and other armes, for their defence. June 10.

Whitelocke came forth about six a'clocke with his own two coaches, and eight waggons, for the rest of his followers; in some of their waggons they drive three horses on breast, and each waggon will hold eight persons: they passed by better houses in this dorp then that where they quartered, which the harbingers excused, comming thither late, and being strangers.

The countrey was still Holtstein, of the same nature as yesterday; in the lower grounds they saw many storkes, one wherof was killed by one of Whitelocke's company with his gunne, a thing not indured heer, where they are very superstitious, and hold it an ill omen where any of them is killed: butt Whitelocke (blessed be God!) found it not foe, yett he warned his people not to kill any of them, to avoyd offence to the countrey, who report that these birdes will not resort to any place, butt where the people are free, as in the united provinces, where they have many of them, and doe carefully preserve them, and neer to Hambourgh and other Hans townes.

About a mile from Kettell is a great gate crosse the high way, where they take tolle for the duke of Holtstein of all the waggons and carryages, a loup schilling a-piece, that is little more then an English penny: this gate they shutt against Whitelocke; butt being informed who he was, they presently opened it agayne, and a gentleman came to Whitelocke's coach side, excusing the shutting of the gate, being before



1654. before they knew who it was that passed by. He told Whitelocke the custome and right of this tolle, butt that nothing was demaunded of ambassadors, who were to passe freely, especially the ambassador of the protector and commonwealth of England, to whom the duke, his master, he said, was a friend: Whitelocke thanked the gentleman for his civility, acknowledging the protector to be a friend to the duke, and so they passed on.

June 10.

About a mile and a halfe before they came to Hambourgh, captain Parkes of the President frigott, and captain Minnes of the Elizabeth frigott, mett Whitelocke on the way, and told him all was well in England, and that, by commaund of the protector, they had brought those two frigotts into the Elve to transport him into England. Whitelocke told them, he was very gladd to see them, especially on this occasion.

As they were walking and discoursing of the ships and their voyage, a great number of persons and coaches, the resident Bradeshawe, with the treasurer, the doctor, their minister, and almost all the english company, with twenty-two coaches, came to meet Whitelocke on the way, and to bring him with the more respect to Hambourgh.

All alighted out of their coaches, and, after salutations, the resident told Whitelocke, that the occasion of their comming forth was to testify their respects to Whitelocke, and to desire him to doe their company the honor to accept of the english house att Hambourgh for his intertainment. Whitelocke gave them hearty thanks for their respects to the protector, and to the common-wealth, wherof they were members, in this honor which they did to their servant:



he accepted of their courteous offer, desiring the company 1654.  
and conversation of his countrey men above all others.

June 10.

They walked a little on foot together, where the lord resident (so they stiled him) showed Whitelocke his last weeks letters from Thurloe, mentioning the imprisonment of many, upon suspicion that they were engaged in a plott against the protector, and that the serious considerable malignants discovered it. He also delivered to Whitelocke private letters from his wife, and other friends.

About a mile from the place where they mett, was a fayre inne by the way side, where the resident moved Whitelocke to make a halt and rest himselfe; bicause, if he should then goe directly to the towne, he would come into it just att dinner time, which would not be convenient: upon his perswasion, and perceiving that a preparation was heer made, Whitelocke went in, where the english company entertained him with a plentiful dinner att a long table, holding above fixty persons. From hence, with Whitelocke's approbation, the resident, as from himselfe, sent to the governor of the militia att Hambourgh (as Whitelocke had done before to the lords) to advertise them of his comming: the governor returned thanks, and said, that two senators were appointed to receive Whitelocke att the Port.

After dinner they all tooke their coaches: with Whitelocke was the resident and treasurer; the rest in the other coaches, the pages and lacquayes riding and walking by.

The countrey is heer lowe and rich, sprinkled with rivers, and adorned with many neat and sweet houses, belonging to the cittizens of Hambourgh, who resort to those houses in the summer time, with their families, to have the fresh aier.

Almost



1654. <sup>June 10.</sup> Almost an english mile before they came to the towne, the high-way was full of people, come forth to see Whitelocke passe by: att the Port were no senators to receive him, butt great guards of musquetiers and multitudes of all sorts of people, there and through all the streets unto his lodging, thronging so, that the coaches could not passe till the guards made way. The people were very courteous, and Whitelocke answered, to the meanest, their civility, which is pleasing and not costly: the windowes and doores were also crowded, which showed the populousnes of the place, and their expectation as to the common-wealth of England.

They brought Whitelocke to the english house, which is fayre and large; the first roome below, according to the fashion of Lubec, the chambers, especially where Whitelocke lay, handsomly furnished.

Within halfe an hower after his arrivall, an officer of the town, in the nature of a master of the ceremonies, came from the lords of the town to bid Whitelocke wellcome thither, and to know what hower he would appoint for admittance of some of the lords to visit him. Whitelocke returned thanks to the lords for their respects, and prayed the gentleman to tell them, that, whensoever they pleased to give him the honor of a visit, they should be wellcome to him.

\* See appendix D. D. for translation.

Within halfe an hower after came two senators, Heer Jurgen Van Holtz, and Heer Jacob Silm. After ceremonies past, Holtz spake in french to Whitelocke to this effect\*:

“ Mon



“ Mon seigneur, qui estes ambassadeur extraordinaire de 1654.  
 “ sa serenissime Altesse Oliver, par la Grace de Dieu, seigneur <sup>June 10.</sup>  
 “ protecteur de la republique d'Angleterre ; aussi tost que  
 “ les messieurs de ceste ville ont esté advertis de vostre in-  
 “ tention de passer par ceste ville icy, ils ont esté desireux  
 “ de tesmoigner leurs très humble respects à monsieur le pro-  
 “ tecteur et à votre personne en particulier, en suite de  
 “ quoi nous avons reçu commandement de vous venir  
 “ saluer, et faire à votre excellence le bien venue en ceste  
 “ ville. Ils sont extremement aises de l'heureux succès que  
 “ Dieu vous a donné en vostre negotiation en Suede, et qu'il  
 “ luy a pleu aussi vous donner un bon passage, et favoriser  
 “ vostre retour jusques en ce lieu, après avoir surmonté  
 “ beaucoup de difficultez, et eschappé beaucoup de dangers,  
 “ et nous prions sa divine bonté qu'il vous rende en sauté  
 “ dans vostre pays. Nous sommes aussi commandés de re-  
 “ cognoistre les faveurs que mon seigneur le protecteur d'une  
 “ si grande republique a faites à nostre ville et aux habitans  
 “ d'icelle, et particulièrement durant la guerre entre l'An-  
 “ gleterre et les Pays Bas, en liberant et deschargeant nos  
 “ navires. Nous souhaitons à ce flourishant estat la con-  
 “ tinuation et l'accroissement de la faveur divine pour leur  
 “ conservation et accroissement de plus en plus, et nous  
 “ esperons que mon seigneur le protecteur continuera avec  
 “ la republique ses faveurs envers nostre ville, qui fera  
 “ tous-jours prest de leur rendre tous offices et humbles  
 “ respects.”

After a little recollection, Whitelocke answered in french to the senator's speech thus :

“ Messieurs, J'ai grande occasion de louer le nom de  
 “ Dieu, de sa protection de moi et de ma fuite, en nostre  
 “ longue et perilleux voyage, et pour l'heureux succès qu'il  
 Vol. II. Q q “ m'a



1654. " m'a donné en ma negotiation, et ma sauve arrivée en ce  
 June 10. " lieu, en mon retour en mon pays. Je vous desire de re-  
 " mercier mes seigneurs les senateurs de ceste ville du re-  
 " spect qu'ils ont tesmoigné envers sa serenissime Altesse mon  
 " maistre, et la republique d'Angleterre, par l'honneur  
 " qu'ils ont fait à leur serviteur, de quoi je ne manquerai  
 " d'en informer : j'avois grande envie de voir ceste illustre  
 " ville, et mes compatriotes, qui par accord vivent ici, des  
 " quels j'ai appris avec beaucoup de contentement, que  
 " leurs priviledges ici estoient maintenus par mes seigneurs  
 " les magistrats, les quels je desire d'estre informés que son  
 " Altesse mon maistre prendra en fort bon part le respect  
 " et la justice qu'on fera aux Anglois qui se trouvent ici,  
 " chose que je croye tournera en advantage aux uns et aux  
 " autres. Je vous rend graces aussi de vos bons souhaits  
 " pour la prosperité de nostre nation, à la quelle Dieu a  
 " donné tant de preuves de sa presence, et je prie le mesme  
 " Dieu aussi pour l'heureux succès de ceste ville, et de tous  
 " les habitans d'icelle."

After Whitelocke had done, the senator againe spake to him, desiring him, in the name of the lords of the towne, to accept a smalle present, which they had sent, in testimony of their respects towards him, and said, that it was somewhat for his kitchen, and somewhat for his cellar.

The present, which they sent for his kitchen, and was layd uppon the pavement in the hall, was this.

Fower great whole sturgeons.

Two great fresh salmons.

One calfe, two sheep, two lambes.

The present for the cellar was,



A hogshead of Spanish wine.

A hogshead of claret wine.

A hogshead of Rhenish wine.

A hogshead of Hambourgh beere.

A hogshead of Serbster beere.

1654.

June 10.

Whitelocke ordered the men, that brought this present, to be rewarded with ten ricks dollers. He desired the senators to returne his hearty thanks to the lords for the noble present which they sent him; and, after many complements and ceremonies, Whitelocke giving the senators the right hand, conducted them to their coach, and so they parted.

The english company intertained, with a great supper, Whitelocke and his company, who had more mind to sleep than to eate.

Monfieur Hannibal Sehstiedt, late vice-roy of Norway, sent a gentleman to Whitelocke, to know what time he would appoint for him to come and visit Whitelocke, who gave the usuall answer, that, whensoever he pleased to come, he should be wellcome.

The *Lord's day*. The English company and the resident Bradeshawe desired Whitelocke, that one of his chapleins might preach in the chappell belonging to the English in their house, which they said was a respect to the ambassador of England; and accordingly Mr. Ingelo preached in the morning, and a very pertinent and good sermon: the doctor, minister to the company heer, preached in the afternoon, who farre exceeded Mr. Ingelo in the strength of his voyce and lungs; the which was not necessary for that chappell,



1654. pell, not being large, butt convenient, and handfomely  
 June 11. made up with pewes and seats fitt for their company.

12. The resident sent to the governor to informe him, that Whitelocke had a desire to see the fortifications of the town: he answered, that he would send one of his lieutenants to waite on Whitelocke for that purpose; butt Whitelocke and the resident tooke this for no great complement, that himselfe came not to Whitelocke.

Much company did Whitelocke the honor to dine with him; and, after dinner, Monsieur Bernelow, who was ambassador from the queen of Sweden to the emperor, and was now uppon his returne home, came to visit Whitelocke, and they had this discourse in latin.

*Bern.* I desire your excellence to excuse me, that I cannot expresse myselfe in french or italian, butt, with your leave, I desire to speake to you in latin.

*Wh.* Your excellence is wellcome to me; and if you choose to expresse yourselfe in latin, you have your liberty, and I shall understand something of it.

*Bern.* When I heard of your excellence's arrivall in this citty, though I purposed to have gone from hence, yett I deferred my journey, to the end I might see you; bicause I have heard in the emperor's court, as well by letters from her most serene majesty of Sweden, as from the chancellor and other senators of that kingdome, what great satisfaction they had in the english ambassador, &c. Now the league of friendship being concluded between the two nations, I hold myselfe obliged to make this salutation to your excellence.

*Wh.*



*Wh.* I have very many thanks to returne to your excell-<sup>1654.</sup>  
lence for the honor you have done me by this visit, and for <sup>June 12.</sup>  
these expressions of affection and respect to the protector, my  
master. I doe acknowledge myselfe much ingaged to the  
ricks chancellor and senators of Sweden, and, in the first  
place, to her majesty the queen, for their favourable respect  
towards me, whilst I was in my negotiation with them,  
whom I found full of honor, wisdom, and justice, in their  
transactions with me.

*Bern.* I have bin for some time in the service of the queen,  
my mistress, in Germany.

*Wh.* You mett some of my countrymen in the court of  
the emperor, particularly a noble lord, whom I have the  
honor to know.

*Bern.* I mett there the earle of Rochester, who was att  
the diette att Ratibone.

*Wh.* What propofalls did he make there?

*Bern.* He made a kind of precarious propofall, in the  
name of the king his master.

*Wh.* Did he obtaine what he desired?

*Bern.* He did not much prevayle in it; only he obtained  
a verball promise of some money, butt had no performance.

*Wh.* What occasion hath drawne your generall Kuningf-  
marc with his forces att this time before Bremen?

*Bern.*



1654. *Bern.* It was thus by mistake occasioned. The earle of Lunenbergh had covenanted with the spanish ambaffador to levy some foldiers for the fervice of the king of Spayne, which levyes he began without acquainting the governor of that circle with it; who, taking this occasion, and bearing ill will to the earle, drew out some forces to oppose those levyes: Kuningsmarc understanding this, and jealous that the governor of the Circle designed to fall upon the fort of the queen of Sweden in those parts, he drew out some forces to oppose the governor. Those of Bremen, being informed that Kuningsmarc drew out his forces against them, sent some troupes, who forced the queen's subjects to a contribution, and built a fort upon the queen's land; which coming to the knowledge of Kuningsmarc, and that the governor of the Circle of Westphalia intended only to suppress the levyes of the duke of Lunenbergh, and not to oppose the queen of Sweden, Kuningsmarc theruppon marched with his forces to the new fort built by those of Bremen, tooke it in and finished it, and left there a garrison for the queen, not disturbing the trade of that citty.

*Wh.* Heer were mistakes one upon another, which might have ingaged that citty and the neighbors, as well as the crown of Sweden, in a troublesome warre.

*Bern.* All is now peaceable and well againe.

They had much other discourse touching the right of the crown of Sweden to the dutchy of Bremen; and, after many complements, the ambaffador tooke his leave.

About four a'clocke in the afternoone, the fenator Holtz and an antient gentleman, one of the captaines of the town forces, came and accompanied Whitelocke, to shew him  
him



him the town and the fortifications of it, and said, that the lords had commaunded them to doe him this service.

1654.  
June 12

Whitelocke went out with them in his usuall equipage; his gentlemen walking before the coach, his pages and lacquayes by it, all bare-headed, and with their swords. They viewed most parts of the citty, the streets, buildings, publique houses, churches, the arcenall, the fortifications, the ships, the waters, rivers, and what was remarkable throughout the towne.

Great multitudes of people, especially att their exchange, came forth to see them as they passed by, and all were very civill to them; to the workes a great many of people also followed them, and continued there with them.

They brought him first to see their arcenall, which is a large house, in the lower roomes therof lay about 200 pieces of ordnance, mounted on good carryages, fitted and usefull: they were not founded in this place, butt brought from other parts; two of them were double cannon, each carrying a bullett of 48 lb. weight; most of the others were demy cannon and culverin. There were, besides these, many smaller pieces, and divers mortar pieces, some of which were neer as large in the diameter as that att Stockholme: in another place were many shelles of granadoes, and heaps of cannon bullets; the pavement of the roome was all leade two foot deepe, in a readines to make musquett bullets, if there should be occasion.

In the roomes above were armes for horse and foote, compleatly fixed and kept; the greatest part of them were musquetts: between every division of the armes were representations in painting of soldiers doing their postures, and



1654. and of some on horsebacke. Heer were many curiaffes, and  
 June 12. a great quantity of corcelets, fwords, bandaliers, pistols, and  
 bullets. Heer likewise hung certaine old targetts, for monu-  
 ments rather then use, and many engines of warre; as a screw  
 to force open a gate, an instrument like a jacke, with wheelles  
 to carry match for certain howers space, and just att the sett  
 time, to give fire to a mine, petard, or the like: there were,  
 in all, armes for about 1500 horse and 15,000 foote.

They keepe a garrison constantly in pay of 1200 soldiers,  
 and they have forty companies of their cittizens, 200 in each  
 company, proper men; whose interest of wives, children,  
 estate, and all, make them the best magazin and defence  
 (under God) for those comforts which are most deare to  
 them.

Some paynes were taken by Whitelocke to view their for-  
 tifications, which are large, of about two German, ten  
 English, miles in compasse; they are very regular, and well  
 kept: within the grafts are hedges of thorne, kept low and  
 cut, held by them of better use then pallisadoes.

The bullwarkes are of an extraordinary greatnes; uppon  
 every third bullwarke is a house for the guardes, and they  
 are there placed: there is also a building of bricke a great  
 way within the ground uppon the bullwarke, and separate  
 by itselke, where they keepe all their gun-powder; so that  
 if by any mischance or wicked designe it should blowe up,  
 yett it could doe no hurt to the towne, being so separated  
 from it.

On every bullwarke there is space enough to draw up and  
 muster 1000 men; beyond the grafts are divers halfe moones,  
 very



very regularly made : the grafts are broade and deep, filled 1654.  
with the Elbe on the one side, and with another smaller <sup>June 12.</sup>  
river on the other side.

The workes are stronger, larger, and more regular then those att Lubec. Above the workes is a piece of ground of above 500 yards of low ground, gained by industry from the Elbe ; here they have milles to keep out or lett in more or lesse water, as they find usefull for the towne and workes.

The lines of one side of the workes are higher then on the other side, and the workes better and stronger made.

Heer are also mounts of earth rayfed very high to command without ; there wanted no pains nor expence to putt together so great a masse of earth as is in these fortifications.

Uppon every bullwarke is mounted one demy cannon, besides other great gunnes ; in other places are smaller pieces : round about the workes are great store of ordnance, well fitted, mounted and kept, and the platformes are strong and well planked.

Having made a large tour through the greatest part of the citty, Whitelocke found it to be pleasantly situated, in a plaine low countrey, fertile and delightfull, also healthfull and advantageous for trade ; and notwithstanding the great quantity of waters on every side of it, yett the inhabitants doe not complaine of agues, or other sicknesses, to be more rife among them then in other parts.



1654. Uppon one side is a smalle river, the which comes a  
June 12. great way downe the country to this towne, where it looseth  
itselfe in the Elbe, having first supplied the citty with wood  
and other provisions, brought downe hither by boates, for  
which this river (though narrow) is deep enough and na-  
vigable.

On the other side of the towne is the stately river of  
Elbe, one of the chiefe of these parts of Germany, which  
also, by boates, brings downe out of the countrey great  
store of all sorts of provisions, and marchantable commodi-  
ties; and, which is much more advantage to them, affords  
a passage for marchants hither, and from hence to vent  
their marchandizes to all parts of the world. It is the best  
neighbor they have, and the branches and armes of it  
runne through most of their streets, by their doores, to the  
great advantage of their commerce; and although some-  
times, uppon an extraordinary rising of the Elbe to a great  
floud, these branches of it cover the lower roomes of the  
houses neer them, to the damage of some owners, yett it  
makes amends by the constant benefit which it brings  
with it.

The buildings heer are all of brick, only some few of  
brick and timber putt together, and are generally fashion-  
ed and used, as is before described, touching the Lubec  
houses.

The district, or territory, belonging to the towne, is, in  
some places two, in others three, in some more, german  
miles distant from the citty, in which precinct they have  
the jurisdiction and revenue; and neere the town are many  
pleasant little houses and seats, with gardens and accommo-  
dations, belonging to the cittizens, to refresh themselves  
and



and their wives and children in the summer-time, to take <sup>1654.</sup>  
the fresh countrey aier, and to have a diversion for their <sup>June 12.</sup>  
health and pleasure.

It may be said of this town, that God hath with-held nothing from them for their good: they have plenty of provisions, health, profit, and pleasure, to their full contentment, in a peaceable and just government, with freedom, strength in their magazins, fortifications, and bodies of men, for their defence and protection, conveniences for their habitation and commerce, and, which is above all, a liberty to know the will of, and to worship God, for the health of their own souls.

This morning Whitelocke returned a visit to the Swedes <sup>13.</sup>  
ambassador, Bernelow, att his lodging, where he learnt of  
him the manner of the sitting of the generall diette of Ger-  
many, att which he was present.

That they have three colledges, or chambers; the first is the colledge of the electors, where they only assemble; the second is the colledge of the princes, where the archbishops, bishops, dukes, graves, and barons, meet to the number of about 140; the third is the colledge of the free cittyes, where their deputies, about 200, doe meet: when they consult, the chancellor of the empire, the arch-bishop of Mentz, sends the proposall in writing to each colledge, severally. When they are respectively agreed, then all the colledges meet together in the great hall, att the upper end wherof is a chayre of state for the emperor; on the right hand of the chayre the electors sit, on the left hand the principall officers of the emperor's court; on the right side of the hall, uppon seats, are the ecclesiastique princes, bishops, and abbots; on the left hand are the temporall  
R r 2  
princes,



1654. princes, uppon their seats; and on the seats below, one  
before another, are the deputies of the townes.  
June 13.

The arch-bishop of Mentz, as marshall of the colledge of the electors, begins and reades the propofall, and the resolution theruppon in writing of that colledge; after him, the marshall of the colledge of the princes doth the like; and, lastly, the marshall of the colledge of the free townes, who is is alwayes the chiefe magistrate of the place where the diette fits.

If the resolution of the three colledges agrees, or of the colledge of the electors and one other of the colledges, the buisnes is determined accordingly: if the colledges doe not thus agree, then they meet all together and debate the matter; wheruppon, if they come not to an accord, the buisnes is remitted to another day, or the suffrage of the emperor decides it.

Whitelocke asked him, whither the advice of the diette, being the supream publicke councill, were binding to the emperor?

He said, that the emperor seldome did any thing contrary to that advice, butt held himselfe bound in prudence, if not in duety, to conforme therunto.

Whitelocke asked him, what opinion they had in the emperor's court of the present king of Sweden? he answered (as was expected, and most true), that they have a great opinion of the king, especially for military affayres.

Uppon



Uppon Whitelocke's invitation, he did him the honor to dine with him, and they had much and good discourse together. 1654.  
June 13.

In the afternoone, Whitelocke received a visit from Monf. Hannibal Sehsthecht, whose wife was sister to Woolfeldt's lady, one of the daughters of the late king of Denmarke by his second wife (as they terme it, his left handed wife); this relation, and his own good parts, brought him in high esteem with the king his brother-in-lawe, till, by jealousies (perticularly, as was said, in some matters of mistresses) distast and disfavour was against him, and he was putt out of his office of vice-roy of Norway, and other advantages; uppon which he retired himselfe into these parts, and lived uppon a pension of 6000 dollers yearly, allowed by the king unto his lady.

Whitelocke found him a gentleman of excellent behaviour and abilities, which he had improved by his travayles in most cuntryes of Europe, and had gayned perfectly, the french, italian, dutch, english, and latin tounes. His discourse was full of ingenuity and cheerfullnes, and very free touching his own countrey and king, on whom he would somewhat reflect: and he spake much of the queen of Sweden's resignation, which he much condemned, and as much extolled the assuming of the government by the protector of England, and said, he had a designe shortly to see England, and desired Whitelocke, that, when he came into England, he would move to the protector to give him leave to come into England to serve the protector, which he would willingly doe, being forbid his own countrey; butt he prayed Whitelocke, that none might know of this his purpose butt the protector only. He told Whitelocke.



1654. locke, that Williamfon, the king of Denmarke's ambaffador  
 now in England, had bin his fervant, &c.  
 June 13.

When Monf. Sehsthedt was gone, Whitelocke wrote to fecretary Thurloe, and to his other friends in England, to give them an account of his being come thus farre in his voyage homewards, and of the two frigotts being arrived in the Elbe, that as soon as the wind would ferve he would haften for England.

The refident invited Whitelocke, and feverall fenators, to a collation this evening, whither came the four burgh-mafters, and five other fenators; a thing unufuall for fo many of them to meet a forein publique minifter, the cuftome being in fuch cafe to depute two or three of their body, and no more; butt they were willing to doe more then ordinary honor to Whitelocke: and of thefe nine fenators every one fpake french or latin, and fome both, a thing rare enough for aldermen of a town; butt the reafon of it was given, bicaufe heer, for the moft part, they choofe into thofe places doctors and licentiates of the lawes, which imployments they willingly accept, being for life, attended with great authority, and a fallary of 1000 crowns yearly, befides other profits.

They had a banquet and ftore of wine; and the fenators difcourfed much with Whitelocke touching England, and the fuccelles of the parlement party, and the many thanksgivings for them; of which they had heard with admiration, and commended the returne of thanks to God.

Uppon this occafion, Whitelocke gave them an account of many perticulars, and of God's goodnes to them, and exhorted thefe gentlemen, in all their affayres, to putt their  
 6 trust



trust in God, to be thankfull for his mercyes, and not to doe any thing contrary to his will.

1654.

June 13.

They asked how the parlement could gett money enough to pay their forces? Whitelocke told them, that the people afforded money sufficient to defray the publique charges both by sea and land; and that no soldiers were payd and disciplined, nor officers better rewarded, then those who have served the parlement.

Whitelocke asked them concerning the religion profest among them, and of their government and trade, wherein they gave him good information; and he told them, he hoped that the agreement, made by this citty with the marchants, his countrey men, would be carefully observed, and the priviledges accorded to them be continued, which would be acceptable to the protector.

They answered, that they had bin very carefull, and should be so still, that, on their part, the agreement should be exactly observed. They desired Whitelocke to speake to the protector in favour of a ship belonging to this town, in which were some monies belonging to Hollanders, and taken by the English two years since. Whitelocke promised to move the protector in it, and assured them, that his highnes would cause right to be done to them.

Att this collation Whitelocke eate very little, and dranke only one glasse of spanish wine, and one glasse of smalle beere, which was given him by a stranger, whom he never saw before nor after; and the beere seemed, att that instant, to be of a very bad taste and colour; nor would he inquire what it was, his own servants being taken forth by the resident's people in courtesy to intertaine them.



1654. After he came to his lodging he was taken very ill, and  
 June 13. grew worfe and worfe, extreame sick with paynes, like the  
 strokes of daggers, which putt him in mind of a former  
 passage; and his torment was so great, that it was scarcely  
 to be indured, the most violent that he ever felt.

He was not well after his journey from Lubec to Ham-  
 bourgh, having bin extreamely jolted in the coach in that  
 way full of holes and floughs, made by their great carry-  
 ges in time of the warre, and not yett amended: his wear-  
 nes, when he came to Hambourgh, reprieved his payne,  
 which highly increased this evening; and the last of his ill  
 beer still remained with him.

14. The fierce torment continued on Whitelocke above thir-  
 teen howers together without intermission; about four  
 a'clocke this morning his secretary Earle was called to him,  
 who waited on him with care and sadnes to see his tor-  
 ment: nature helped, by vomits and otherwise, to give  
 some ease, butt the sharpnes of his payne continued.

About five a'clocke this morning doctor Whistler was  
 called to him, who gave him severall sorts of physicke, and,  
 amongst the rest, a drinke with a powder and a great quan-  
 tity of oyle of sweet almonds; suspecting, by the manner of  
 his sicknes and some of the symptoms, that he might have  
 had poyson given him, which was the jealousy of most  
 about him; and whither it were so or not, the Lord only  
 knowes; who, nevertheles, in his goodnes preserved White-  
 locke, and blessed the means for his recovery.

The drinke working contrary to what was intended, and  
 turning to a vomit, the doctor, perceiving the operation of  
 nature to be that way, followed by giving of vomits, which,  
 within



within two howers, gave some ease and brought him to a little slumber, and in a few howers after to recovery.

1654.

June 14.

Thus it pleased God to exercise him, and to cast him downe for a little time: and when he had no expectation butt of present death in a strange land, God was pleased suddainly, and above imagination, to restore and recover him; the which, and all other the mercyes of God (he prayes) may, by him and his, be thankfully remembered.

A doctor of physick, a jew in this town, hearing of Whitelocke's being sick, came to his lodging, and meeting with doctor Whistler, told him in latin, that, understanding the english ambassador to be daungerously sicke, and to have no physitian about him butt a young unexperienced man, therefore this jew came to offer his service: doctor Whistler, smiling, told Whitelocke of this rencounter, who presently sent his thanks and discharge to the jewish doctor.

Severall senators came and sent to inquire of Whitelocke's health, and to know if he wanted any thing in their power to supply him for his recovery, and offered the physitians of the town to waite uppon him. He returned thanks; butt kept himselfe to the advice and care of his own doctor, whose indeavors it pleased God to blesse, so that in two dayes Whitelocke was abroad againe.

The english company had invited divers to beare Whitelocke company att dinner this day; where they had a very great feast, and present att it the four burgh-masters and ten senators. So many of that number had scarce bin seen att any former intertainment; which though purposely made to doe Whitelocke honor, yett his sicknes had brought



1654. him to an incapacity of bearing them company: butt  
 ~~~~~  
 June 14. whilest they were att the table, Whitelocke sent his secretary to the resident, praying him to make his apology to the lords, that extreimity of sicknes the night before had prevented him of the honor of accompanying them att this meeting; that being now somewhat recovered, he sent now to present his hearty thanks to their lordships for this great favour they had done him, wished them all health, and intreated them to be cheerfull. The lords returned thanks to Whitelocke for his civility, and about an hower after the resident came to Whitelocke from the lords to see how he did, to thanke him for his complement, and to know if, without inconvenience, they might be admitted to come to his chamber to see him.

Whitelocke said, he should be glad to see them; butt privately told the resident, that he hoped they would not stay long with him by reason of his indisposition.

The senators sate att the table from twelve a'clocke att noone till six a'clocke in the evening, according to the fashion of Dutchland, and were very merry, wanting no good meate or wine, nor sparing it: about six a'clocke they rose from dinner, and came to Whitelocke's chamber to visit him, with many complements expressing their sorrow for his sicknes, their wishes for his health, and offers of any thing in their power which might contribute to his recovery.

Whitelocke used them with all civility, and heartily thanked them for this extraordinary honor they had done him, by so many of their lordships affording him the favour of meeting att this place, and excused, by his violent sickness, his not bearing them company. After many complements,

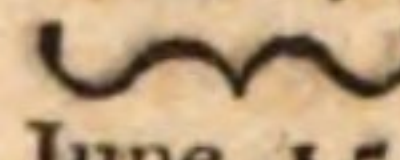
ments, and a short stay, they left his chamber, praying for the recovery of his health agayne.

1654.
June 14.

Among this company of fourteen senators were no young men, butt all grave and comely persons; and every one of them did perticularly speake to Whitelocke, either in french or latin, and some in both; which were hard to be mett with in so many aldermen of townes in other countryes.

Divers of them stayer in the english house till nine a'clocke att night, making a very long repast of nine howers together; butt it was to testify the more perticular respect and honor to the english ambassador, and is according to the usage of these parts, where, att such publique intertainments, they seate and drinke heartily, and seldome part in lesse then ten or twelve howers, cheerfully conversing together. Whitelocke tooke great contentment in the civility and respects of these and other gentlemen to him in this place, and in the affection, care, and attendance of his children, friends, and servants about him in his sicknes.

The lords sent a gentleman to inquire of Whitelocke's health, with complements as before. He tooke some physicke, yett admitted visits and discourse, from which, and those he formerly had with senators and others, he learned, that, as to matter of religion, they are heer very strict to maintaine an unity therof, being of Plutarch's opinion, that *varietas religionis, dissolutio religionis*; and they permit no other religion to be publicuely exercised by their own cittizens among them, butt what, in their government, they doe professe, which is according to the Augustine confession; and Luther's opinions doe wholly take place among them; insomuch that the exercise of religion, in any other

1654. forme or way, is not admitted, except to the english com-
 June 15. pany of marchants in the chappell of their house, and that
 by stipulation. Thus every one, who differs from them in
 matters of religion, must keep his opinion to himselfe,
 without occasioning any disturbance to the government
 by practice, or publication, of such different opinion; and
 although many are inclined to the tenets of Calvin, yett
 their publique profession is wholly Lutheran; answerable
 wherunto, Whitelocke observed, in their churches, many
 images, crucifixes, and the like, not farre removed from
 the practice of the popish churches; perticularly in their
 great church, which is fayre and large, built with bricke,
 are many images, rare tablets of painting, crucifixes, and a
 perspective of curious workmanship in colours.

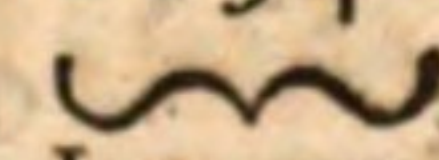
Their litturgye (as ours in England was) is extracted from
 the old masse-booke; and their divine service celebrated
 with much ceremony, musick, and outward reverence.

Their ministers are pensioners, butt (as themselves affirme)
 liberally dealt with, and have bountifull allowances if they
 are holy men and good preachers; wherof they much satisf-
 fy themselves, that they are very well provided in this citty,
 to the comfort and blessing of the inhabitants.

Touching the trade of this place, Whitelocke learnt, that
 as they are very populous, so few are suffered in idlenes,
 butt imployed in some way or other of trading, either as
 marchants, artificers, shop-keepers, or workmen.

They have an exchange heer (though not a fayre one)
 where they dayly meet, and conferre about their affayres
 and contracts.

The

The severall branches and armes of the river Elbe, which 1654.
passe along by their houses, afford them the better means 
and advantages for bringing in and carrying forth their ^{June 15.}
commodities.

There is a partition between the old and the new towne:
the old is butt a smalle part of it, and few marchants reside
there.

The ships of greatest burden come up within two miles
of the citty; the lesser ships, wherof there be a great num-
ber, and the greate boates, come up within the towne,
to the very doores of their houses, by the branches of the
Elbe, to the great advantage of their trading.

This citty is much greater then Lubec, fuller of trade
and wealth, and better situated for commerce, being neerer
to England, the Netherlands, France, Spayne, and all the
southern and western parts; and they are not to passe the
Sundt in comming home agayne.

The staple of english cloth is heer, and the clothes being
brought hither for the most part white, it setts on worke
many hundreds of their people to dresse and dye, and fitt
them; and the inhabitants of all Germany, and other coun-
tryes, doe send and buy their cloth heer.

Att this time of Whitelocke's being heer, there lay in the
Elbe four english ships, which brought cloth hither; one of
them carryed 25 pieces of ordnance, the least 15, all of
good force; and the english cloth, att this time in them,
was estimated to be worth 200,000 l. sterling.

In

1654. In consideration of this trade, and the staple of english
 June 15. cloth settled heer, which brings wealth to this citty, the
 government heer hath graunted great priviledges to the
 english marchants residing in this place; and they are part
 of the company, or corporation, of marchant adventurers
 of England; an antient and honorable society, of which
 Whitelocke had the favour, honorarily, to be heer admitted
 a member.

16. Whitelocke, being, through the goodnes of God, well
 recovered of his distemper, went abroad this day, and was
 showed the town-house, which is a fayre and handsome
 building, of the like fashion, butt more large and beauti-
 full then that att Lubec, and much better furnished. Heer
 are many chambers for publique councells and tribunalls;
 some of them have their pillars covered with copper, and
 pavements of italian marble; they have also rich hangings,
 and chayres of velvett, blew and green, and rare pictures.
 The chamber of audience (as they call it) is the court of
 justice where the right-heers, who are in the nature of
 sheriffs, doe sit to dispatch and determine the causes of
 the cittizens; and if the cause exceed the value of 100 dol-
 lers, an appeale lyes to the senate, as it doth also in all
 causes criminall.

From the senate there is no appeale in cafes of obliga-
 tions, letters of exchange, contracts, debts, and matters of
 marchandize, butt therein a speedy remedy is given for the
 advantage of trade; butt in all other cafes, where the value
 exceeds 1000 dollers, and in all causes capitall, an appeale
 lyes to the imperiall chamber: and in the judicatories of
 the citty, the proceedings are according to the municipall
 lawes and customes therof; which, nevertheles, have great
 affinity with the imperiall civill lawes, especially in the
 formes

formes and manner of proceedings; and in cases where the municipall lawes and customes are defective, there the proceedings are according to the civill lawe. 1654.
June 16.

They doe not proceed by juryes of twelve men to trye the fact; butt the parties contending are heard on both sides, either in person, or by their advocates or proctors, as they please, and the wittnesses, on either side, are examined uppon oath: after which, the judges taking serious consideration of the whole matter, and of all circumstances and proofes therin, att a fett time they pronounce their sentence; and commonly the whole proces and buisnes is determined in the space of three weekes, except in cases where an appeale is brought.

The judges sitt in court usually twice in every weeke, unles in festivall times, when they keep vacations; and with them their holy-dayes are not juridicall: their equall and speedy administration of justice is commended both by their own people, and by strangers, who have occasion to make tryall of it.

Their publique government, by which their peace is preserved, disorders restrained, and men kept from being wolves to one another, makes them the more to flourish, and consists of four consulls or burgh-masters, and twenty other senators, of whom twelve are called overholts, and the other twelve ricks-heers. Uppon the death or removall of any senator, the choice of a new one is with the rest of the senators; the choice of the overholts is by the people, and they are as tribunes of the people: they have power to controwle the senate, though the supream magistracy; butt they doe
6. it.

1654. it with all respect and tendernes; and no new law is made,
 June 16. nor tax imposed, without their consent. Butt the execution of the present lawes, and the government of the people, and the last appeale in the citty, is left unto the senate; as also negotiations with foreiners, the intertainments and ceremonies with strangers, and generally the care of the safety of their state.

In cases of extraordinary concernement, as of warre and peace, levying of money, making of new lawes, and matters of extraordinary weight and consideration, of which the senate are not willing to take the burden wholly upon themselves, or to undergoe the envy or hazard of the consequences therof; in such cases, the senate causeth the overholt to be assembled, and, as the weight of the buisnes may be, sometimes they cause to be summoned an assembly of the whole body of the burgeses of the citty, before whom the buisnes in the generall is propounded; and they are desired by the senate to make choice of some deputies, to be joyned to the senate, and to assist them in the matters proposed: then the whole body of the freemen doe commonly make choice of eight, sometimes more and sometimes fewer, as they please, out of their own number; and these deputies have full power given to them by this assembly, to dispatch and determine, together with the senate and the overholt, their matters thus proposed, to the generall consideration of that publique assembly; and what this counsell, thus constituted, doe resolve in these matters, the same is putt in execution accordingly, obligeth, and is freely submitted unto by all the citzizens, who looke upon themselves, by this their election of deputies, to have their own consents involved in what their deputies determine.

In

In the evening Mr. Stetkin, with whom Whitelocke had bin acquainted in England, when he was there, a servant to the late king for his private musick, wherein he was excellent, came to Whitelocke, and with Maylard, one of Whitelocke's servants, made very good musick for his diversion.

1654.

June 16.

This day the wind came about reasonable good for Whitelocke's voyage, who, theruppon, ordered the captains away to their frigotts, and his people to prepare all things in readynes for his departure to-morrow: his baggage was carryed downe and putt on board the frigotts. He gave his most hearty and solemne thanks to the resident, and to all the gentlemen of the english company of marchants heer, who had very nobly and affectionately intertained Whitelocke att their own charge all the time of his being in this citty. He ordered his gratuities to be distributed among their servants, and to all who had done any service or offices for him, both of the english house, and of the townsmen, and ordered all things to be in a readines to proceed in his voyage.

The baggage and inferior servants of Whitelocke being gone downe before unto the frigotts, and the wind being indifferent good, Whitelocke resolved this day to sett forwards in his voyage, and to indeavour, if he could, before night to reach the frigotts, which did attend his comming in the Elbe, about Gluckstadt.

17.

The resident had provided boates for Whitelocke and his company to goe downe unto the frigotts, and had given notice to some of the senators of Whitelocke's intention to remove this day; wheruppon Mons. Muller, the chiefe burgh-master of the town, came to Whitelocke's lodging

1654. in the morning to visit him, and to inquire of his health,
 as one that bare a perticular respect to him, and was now
 June 17. come to take his leave of him. He was a wise and sober
 man, and of good conversation, and testified much respect
 to the protector and common-wealth of England, and
 much honor to Whitelocke in perticular. Whilest he was
 with Whitelocke, the two senators who came first to White-
 locke to bid him wellcome hither, came now also to him
 from the senate to bid him farwell. The elder of them
 spake to Whitelocke to this effect:

“ My lord ambassador,

“ The senate hath commanded us in their name to salute
 “ your excellence, and to give you thanks for taking in
 “ good part the smalle testimonies of their respect towards
 “ you, which they are ashamed were no better, and in-
 “ treat your pardon for it.

“ They understand that your excellence is uppon your
 “ departure from this towne, which gives them great cause
 “ of sadnes, as they had of joy att your arrivall heer: butt
 “ since it is your good pleasure, and your great affayres
 “ oblige you to depart, all that we can doe is to pray to
 “ God for your safe arrivall in your own countrey: and
 “ we doubt not, butt that the same God, who hath hitherto
 “ preserved you in a long and perillous voyage, will con-
 “ tinue his goodnes to you in the remainder of your
 “ journey.

“ We have an humble request to make to your excel-
 “ lence, that you will give us leave to recommend our
 “ towne to your patronage, and that you would be pleased
 “ to peruse these papers, which concerne some of our cit-
 “ tizens;

“ tizens ; and that your excellence will be a means to my 1654.
 “ lord protector, and to the court of admiralty, that justice
 “ and favour may be shewed to them.” June 17.

As this gentleman spake of the testimonies of respect from this citty to Whitelocke, he looked back to the table, uppon which stood a piece of plate covered with sarsenet ; a little after the senator had done speaking, Whitelocke answered him to this purpose :

“ Gentlemen,

“ I have cause to acknowledge that God hath bin very
 “ good and gracious to me, and to all my company,
 “ throughout our whole voyage unto this place ; for which
 “ we desire to blesse his name, and hope that he will be
 “ pleased to continue his goodnes to us in the rest of our
 “ journey.

“ I desire you to returne my hearty thanks to my lords
 “ the senators, who have honored me with their very great
 “ respects during the whole time of my being with them,
 “ and have bestowed noble testimonies therof uppon me :
 “ I shall not fayle to inform the protector, my master,
 “ heerof, to whom, and to the common-wealth of England,
 “ this respect is given in my person.

“ I have received much contentment in my being heer,
 “ not only by the sight of so fayre and flourishing a citty
 “ as this is, so well fortified, and manned, and traded,
 “ and governed, butt in your civilities, and the honor I
 “ have had to be acquainted with your worthy magistrates.

“ And I have had a singular satisfaction to understand
 “ from my countrymen living amongst you, that their pri-

1654. "viledges are by you intirely continued to them; which I
 ~~~~~  
 June 17. "recommend to you as a thing most acceptable to my lord  
 "protector, who takes care of the whole common-wealth,  
 "and will expect, that I give him an account of what  
 "concernes the english marchants and their commerce in  
 "this place.

"The wind being now good, I am obliged, according  
 "to the commaunds of the protector, my master, forth-  
 "with to returne for England, and doe resolve this day to  
 "proceed in my voyage towards my ships. I hope my  
 "God will conduct me in safety to the place where I would  
 "be, and where I shall have the opportunity to testify my  
 "gratitude to the lords and people of this citty, and to  
 "take care of those affayres wherein they may be concerned,  
 "which I esteem as an honor to me."

After Whitelocke had done speaking, the senators, with  
 the accustomed ceremonies, tooke their leaves of him.

The piece of plate which they now presented to him was  
 a vessell of silver, like a little cabinet, wrought with bosses  
 of beautifull figures, curious and rich, of the value (as some  
 prized it) of about 150 l. sterling. Whitelocke was som-  
 what surprised with this present of plate, and doubtfull  
 whither he should accept it or not; butt considering, that  
 it was only a testimony of their respects to the protector;  
 and as to Whitelocke, he was not capable of doing them  
 service, or prejudice, butt as their affayres should deserve,  
 and if he should refuse this present, it would be ill taken  
 by the lords: uppon these considerations, and the advice of  
 the resident, and other friends, Whitelocke tooke it, and  
 returned his hearty thanks for it.

Another



Another senator, one Monf. Samuel, hearing that White-<sup>1654.</sup>locke had a little son att home, sent him a little stone-<sup>June 17.</sup>horse for a present, the least that one hath seen, yett very handsome, and mannaged to the great faddle, which Whitelocke brought home with him : so full of civility and courtesy were the magistrates of this place.

After much difficulty to gett away, and the earnest request of the resident and english marchants to the contrary, intreating him to stay longer, yett Whitelocke kept his resolution to leave the town ; and boates being in readiness, he went downe to the water-side, accompanied with a great number of his countrymen and his own people, and took his boates to goe down the Elbe to his ships.

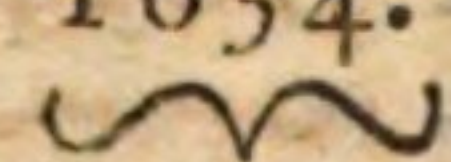
The resident, and some others, went in his boate with him : vice admirall Clerke would not yett leave him, saying, that Wrangell had commaunded him to see Whitelocke on board the english frigotts, either for a complement, or desiring to see the frigotts, which were so much discourfed on in these parts, and therby to be inabled to give an account to Wrangell of the dimensions and make of them, which he longed to know.

The boate in which Whitelocke went was large, butt not convenient, open, and went only with sayles. The streets, as he passed to the water-side, and the windowes, and on the bridges, were full of people to see him as he went, and gave him courteous salutations att his farwell.

In his own boate he had six trumpetts, which sounded all along as he passed through the citty, and the haven, which was then very full of ships, and they also very civill to make way for Whitelocke's boates.

Uppon



1654.  Uppon the bridges and bullwarkes, which he went by,  
 June 17. were guards of soldiers in armes; and the bullwarkes on that  
 side saluted him with all their cannon, about twenty-one  
 pieces, though they use not to give strangers above two or  
 three gunnes.

Thus Whitelocke parted from this citty of Hambourgh,  
 recommending himselfe, and his company, to the blessing  
 and protection of the Almighty.

A little below the citty, they came by a small village,  
 called by them All to nagh, that is, All too nigh, being the  
 king of Denmarke's territory, within halfe a league, which  
 they thought too neer their citty.

When they came a little lower, with a suddain strong  
 blast of wind, the boate, in which Whitelocke was, was in  
 great daunger of being oversett; after which, it grew to be  
 a calme: wheruppon Whitelocke sent to the english cloth  
 ships, which lay a little below, to lend him some of their  
 ship boates and marriners with oares, to make better way  
 then his boate with sayles could doe. This they did readily;  
 and, as Whitelocke passed by them, they all saluted him with  
 their cannon.

Having changed their boates, and discharged the great  
 ones, they went more cheerfully downe the river till they  
 came within halfe a league of the town of Stadt; when  
 being almost darke, and the marriners not accustomed to  
 the river out of the channell, the boate, in which White-  
 locke was, struck uppon the sand, and was fast there: pre-  
 sently the english marriners, seven or eight of them, leaped  
 out of the boate into the river up to their chinnes, and by  
 strength



strength removed the boate from off the sands agayne ; and 1654.  
 they came to their oares agayne, within an english mile of <sup>June 17.</sup> Stadt, when it was very late, and the boates two german miles from the frigotts, and the tide turning. Whitelocke thought it impossible to reach his ships this night, and not prudent to proceed with unexperienced men uppon this dangerous river by night, and understanding by generall Potley, and one of the trumpets, who had bin formerly heer, of a house uppon the river that goes to Stadt, within a quarter of a mile of the place where they now were ; Whitelocke ordered the marriners to make to that house, who, with much difficulty, found out the mouth of the river ; butt for want of water, being low tyde, they had much trouble to gett the boate up to the crewse, or inne there. The master of the house had bin a soldier and a cooke ; he prepared a supper for them of salt eels, salt salmon, and a little poultrey, which was made better by the meate and wine that the resident brought with him ; yett all little enough, when the rest of Whitelocke's company, in three other boates, came to the same house, though they could not know of Whitelocke being there : butt he was very ill himselfe, and this was a bad quarter for him, who had bin so lately very sick att Hambourgh ; yett he contented himselfe without going to bedde. His sons and company had some fresh straw, and God, in his wonted mercy, still preserved him and his company.

The host sent word to his generall Kuningmarc, that the english ambaffador was att his house this night.

Whitelocke resolved to remove from the crewse early this morning, and the rather bicause he was informed that Kuningmarc intended to come hither this morning to visit him, which Whitelocke did not desire, in regard of the late accident.



1654. cident att Bremen, where Kuningsmarc was governor, and  
 June 18. that his conferring with him, uppon his immediate returne  
 from Sweden, might give some jealousy to those of Bremen,  
 or to the Hans townes, or some of the German princes  
 thereabouts. Whitelocke therfore held it best to take no  
 notice of Kuningsmarc's intention to come and visit him,  
 butt to avoyd that meeting, by going early from hence this  
 morning; which he had the more reason to doe, bicause of his  
 bad intertainment heer, and for that the tyde served betimes  
 this morning to gett out of this river. He therfore caused  
 his people to make ready about two a'clocke this morning,  
 and tooke boate within an hower after, the weather being  
 very fayre, and the countrey pleasant: on the right hand  
 was Holtstein, on the left hand was the dutchy of Lunen-  
 bergh, and below that the bishoprick of Bremen; in which  
 this river comes from Stadt, neere unto Bremen, more con-  
 siderable heertofore, when it was the staple for the english  
 cloth, butt left by our marchants many years since, partly  
 bicause they held themselves not well treated by the inhabi-  
 tants of Stadt, and partly by the inconvenientnes of this  
 river to bring up their cloth to that towne.

Two miles from this crewse, Whitelocke came to the  
 frigotts, where they lay att anchor. He himselfe went on  
 board the President, who, att his entry, saluted him with  
 above forty gunnes, the Elizabeth butt with twenty-one;  
 and her captain Minnes came on board to Whitelocke to  
 excuse it, bicause not knowing Whitelocke's time of comming  
 hither, he had no more gunnes ready to bid him wellcome.

Right against the frigotts lay the fort and town of Gluck-  
 stadt, that is Luckystadt, or Lucky Town. Whitelocke be-  
 ing desirous to take a view of it, and of the fortifications,  
 and his baggage not being yett come to the frigotts, he,



with the resident, and severall others, went over in one of the ship boates to see it.

1654.  
June 18.

The towne is situate in a marsh, having no hill neer to commaund it: the fortifications about it are old, yett in good repayre. It belongs to the king of Denmarke, as duke of Holtstein, and he keeps a guarryson there, att the mouth of a river running into the Elbe, like that of Stadt. The late king of Denmarke built there a blockhouse in the great river uppon piles, to the end he might command the ships passing that way; butt the Elbe being there above a league in breadth, the ships may well passe notwithstanding that fort.

Att Whitelocke's landing in the towne, which is about a bow shoot from the mouth of the river, he sent to acquaint the governor therewith, and that he desired only to see the town, and then to returne to his ships: the governor sent a civill answear, that he was sorry he could not accompany Whitelocke to shew him the town, by reason of his being sick, butt that he had sent one of his officers to shew him the fortifications, and desired him to commaund any thing in the town; for which civility Whitelocke returned thankes.

The towne is not great, nor well built, butt of brick; and some of the houses very fayre, chiefly one, which they call the king's house, which might fitt an english knight to dwell in. The town seems decaying, and the fortifications also in some places. The late king designed to have made this a great town of trade, and by that means to have diminished, if not ruined, his neighbors, the Hambourghers; to whom this king having done some injuries, and indeavouring to build a bridge over the Elbe neer to Hambourgh, to hinder the ships coming up thither, and their trade, the



1654. cittyzens pulled it downe againe, and came with about  
 June 18. twenty vessells to Gluckstadt, uppon a designe against that  
 towne: butt the king's ships of warre being there, the ad-  
 mirall of Hambourgh cutt his anchors, and returned home  
 in haft; the king's men gott up the anchors, and att this  
 time Whitelocke saw them hung up in their church as great  
 trophies of a smalle victory thus easily gained. Att White-  
 locke's returne, Gluckstadt saluted him with three pieces of  
 cannon.

When he was come back to his ships, he found all his  
 people and baggage come up to him; wheruppon he resolved  
 to weigh anchor the first opportunity of wind serving, and  
 gave orders accordingly to his captaines.

The resident Bradeshawe, vice admiral Clerke, the trea-  
 surer and secretary of the english company att Hambourgh,  
 who accompanied Whitelocke to his ships, now the tyde  
 serving, tooke their leaves of him, with much respect and  
 wishes of a happy voyage to him; and so they parted.

The wind came to north-east, flatte contrary to White-  
 locke's course, and rose high, with violent stormes and  
 much raine, so that it was not possible for Whitelocke to  
 weigh anchor and proceed in his voyage; butt he had cause  
 to thanke God, that he was in a safe and good harbour.

19. The wind continued very tempestuous and contrary to  
 Whitelocke's course, so that he could not bouge, butt lay  
 still at anchor: the marriners, in their usuall way of sporting,  
 indeavoured to make him some pastime, to divert the tedi-  
 ousnes of his stay, and of the bad weather.

He



Hé learnt, that to Gluckstadt the Hamburghers pay a tolle 1654.  
to the king of Denmarke; who submit therunto as other <sup>June 19.</sup>  
ships doe, rather then enter into a contest or warre with that  
king.

Whitelocke thought it becomming him in civility and gra-  
titude, to give an account by letters to the queen of Sweden  
of his proceeding thus farre in his voyage, for which pur-  
pose he had written his letters att Hambourgh; and now,  
having too much leifure, he made them up and sent them  
to vice admirall Clerke to be presented to the queen: the let-  
ters were to this effect\*.

\* See ap-  
pendix  
E. E.  
for trans-  
lation.

*A sa serenissime Majesté Christine reyne de Suede.*

“ Madame,

“ Les grandes faveurs, que j’ai reçeus de vostre majesté,  
“ m’obligent à luy rendre compte de ce qui me touche, celuy  
“ en qui vous avez beaucoup d’interest. Etpuis que par vostre  
“ faveur sous Dieu, j’ai desja surmonté les difficultez de la  
“ plus grande moitié du voyage, que j’ai à fayre par mer,  
“ j’ai pris l’hardiesse d’entretenir vostre majesté de mon  
“ succès jusques en ce lieu. Le premier de Juin, le beau  
“ navire Amiranta nous fist flotter sur la Baltique, et non-  
“ obstant les calmes, le vent contraire, et un terrible orage,  
“ qui nous exercerent, par l’adresse de l’admirall Clerc,  
“ du capitaine Sincler, (de l’honnesteté, respect, et soin des  
“ quels envers moi et ma suite, je suis redevable comme de  
“ mille autres faveurs à vostre majesté) comme par l’obéif-  
“ sance du navire à ses experts conducteurs, nous mismes  
“ pied à terre à Tremon, le port de Lubec, mecredi le 7. Juin.  
“ Samedi nous arrivâmes à Hambourgh, où je suis à present  
“ dans la maison des Anglois: ce matin j’ai pensé ne voir  
“ point le soir, ayant esté travaillé d’un mal soudain, et



1654. " tempête horrible qui m'a cuide renverser dans ce port.  
 June 19. " Mais il a pleu à Dieu me remettre en bonne mesure, ainsi  
 " que j'espere je ne serai empesché d'achever mon voyage.  
 " Je prie Dieu qu'il preserve vostre majesté et qu'il me rende  
 " si heureux, qu'estant rendu en mon pais, j'aye l'oppor-  
 " tunité selon mon petit pouvoir de tesmoigner en effect  
 " que je suis,

" De vostre majesté le très humble et

" obeissant serviteur

Jun 14. 1654.

" B. WHITELOCKE."

20. The wind continued in the same quarter as before, very high and contrary to Whitelocke's course, both the last night and this morning, which gave him and his company much trouble ; butt they must submit to the time and good pleasure of God.

About five a'clocke this morning (an unusuall hower for visits), Monsieur Schestedt came on board Whitelocke's ship, from Gluckstadt, whither he came the day before by land : they had much discourse together, wherein this gentleman is copious, most of it to the same effect as att his former visits att Hambourgh.

He told Whitelocke of the lord Wentworth's being att Hambourgh, and his carriage there, and that he spake with respect towards the protector, and towards Whitelocke, butt was full of wishes of ruine to the protector's party.

Whitelocke inquired of him touching the levyes of soldiers by the princes in the lower Saxony, now in action, with whom Monsieur Schestedt was very conversant : he said, that  
 the



the present levyes were no other then such as those princes 1654.  
made the last year, and usually make every year, for their  
own defence, in case there should be any occasion; and that <sup>June 20.</sup>  
he knew of no designe extraordinary.

Whitelocke asked him severall questions about this matter, that he might be able to give information therof to the protector; butt either there was nothing, or this gentleman would discover nothing in it.

He was intertained in Whitelocke's cabbin att breakfast, where he fed and dranke wine heartily; and, att his going away, Whitelocke gave him twenty-one gunnes, and ordered the Elizabeth to give him nineteen, and sent him to shore in one of his ship boates. The wind being very high, and not changing all this day, to the trouble of Whitelocke, and hinderance of his voyage.

In the evening, a messenger from Monsieur Scheftedt brought to Whitelocke these letters\*.

“ Mon seigneur,

“ Vostre excellence aura reçu par un de ses serviteurs,  
“ un petit billet de moi partant de Gluckstadt, sur ce  
“ qu'avions parlé supplyant très humblement vostre excel-  
“ lence d'en avoir soin sans aucun bruit: et si la commodité  
“ de vostre excellence le permettra, je vous supplie de  
“ vouloir escrire un mot de lettre au resident d'icy pour  
“ mieux jouir de sa bonne conversation, sur ce qui con-  
“ cerne la correspondance avec vostre excellence, et selon  
“ que vostre excellence m'avisera je me gouvernerai ex-  
“ actement, mesiant entièrement à la generosité de vostre ex-  
“ cellence

\* See ap-  
pendix  
F. F.  
for trans-  
lation.



1654. "cellence, et m'obligeant en homme d'honneur de vivre  
 June 20. "et mourir,

"Mon seigneur, de vostre excellence

"très humble et très obeissant

20. Juin,  
 1654.

"serviteur,

"HANNIBALL SCHESTEDT."

"Vostre excellence aura mille remerciements de l'honneur  
 "reçu par ces canonades et excusera pour ma disgrâce de  
 "n'avoir esté respondus."

To these letters Whitelocke sent this answer.

"Mon seigneur,

"Je n'ai rien par voy de retour que mes humbles remer-  
 "ciments pour le grand honneur que vous m'avez fait, par  
 "vos très agreablés visites, tant à Hambourgh qu'en ce lieu,  
 "comme aussi en m'envoyant ce noble gentilhomme qui  
 "m'a apporté les lettres de vostre excellence, je ne man-  
 "querai pas quand il plaira à Dieu me ramener en Angle-  
 "terre, de contribuer tout ce que fera en mon pouvoir  
 "pour vostre service, et j'espere que l'issue en fera à vostre  
 "contentement, et que dans peu de temps je scauray vous  
 "rendre bon conte de ce dont vous me faites mention en  
 "vos lettres; ce petit tesmoignage du respect que je porte  
 "à vostre excellence, que je rendi à vostre depart de mon  
 "vaisseau, et qu'il vous plaist honorer de vostre estime,  
 "ne merite pas que vous en teniez aucune conte, je seray  
 "joyeux de vous tesmoigner par meilleurs effects que je suis

"De vostre excellence le très humble

D'abord le President,  
 Rade de Gluckstadt,  
 20. Juin, 1654.

"et très obeissant serviteur,

"B. WHITELOCKE."

Many



Many other letters past between them, not necessary for  
a recitall.

1654.

June 20.

The wind continued in the same quarter as before, very  
high, and contrary to Whitelocke's course: the english  
cloth ships came down to him, desiring to be in his squadron  
homewards. 21.

Whitelocke knew no reason why his ships might not as  
well have fallen downe lower in the river as these; about  
which he consulted with the officers and pilote of his ship,  
who agreed, that this morning, the wind being come a little  
more moderate, the ships might have fallen downe with the  
tyde, butt that the time was now neglected; which the  
officers excused because of the fogge, which was so thicke,  
that they durst not adventure to goe downe the river: he  
resolved uppon this to take the next opportunity, and went  
aboard the Elizabeth to see his company there, who were  
well accommodated.

Heer a petition was presented to Whitelocke from two  
marriners in hold, for speaking desperate words, that they  
would blow up the ship and all her company, and would  
cutt the throat of the protector, and of 10,000 of his party;  
one of them confest in his petition, that he was drunke when  
he spake these words, and had no intention of the least  
harme to the ship, or to the protector, or any of the state;  
both of them acknowledged their fault, and humbly asked  
pardon: after Whitelocke had examined them severally,  
and could gett from them no confession of any plot against  
the protector or state, but earnest asseverations of their in-  
nocencys; yett having newes of a plott in England against  
the protector and government, he held it not fitt for him  
absolutely



1654. absolutely to release them ; butt, bicause he thought it only  
 a buifnes and words of drunkennes, he ordered them to be  
 June 21. had out of the hold, butt their captaine to see that they  
 should be forthcoming att their arrivall in England, that the  
 councell, being acquainted heerwith, might direct their  
 pleasure concerning them.

About noone, the wind began againe to blowe with great  
 tempestuoufness, and flatt contrary to Whitelocke's course.

In the evening a gentleman came aboard Whitelocke's  
 ship, with letters from Monsieur Scheftedt from Gluckstadt,  
 to the same effect, and with complements as formerly, to  
 which Whitelocke returned a civill answear by the same  
 messenger ; and by him he also sent letters of complement  
 and thanks to the resident Bradeshawe, which likewise he  
 prayed the resident, in his name, to present to the english  
 company of marchants att Hambourgh, for their very  
 great civilities and noble respects to Whitelocke while he  
 was with them.

22. The wind continued contrary, and extraordinary violent  
 all the last night and this morning ; and Whitelocke had  
 cause to acknowledge the favour of God to him, that  
 during these rough stormes he was in a good harbour, and  
 had not putt out into the open sea.

Early in the morning, a gentleman came from Gluckstadt  
 on board to Whitelocke, and told him, that Grave Rantzow,  
 the governor of the province of Holtstein had sent him to  
 salute Whitelocke on his part, and to know when he might  
 conveniently come to Whitelocke ; who answered, that he  
 should be alwayes ready to intertaine his excellence, butt,  
 in regard the time was now so daungerous, he desired the  
 governor



governor would not expose himselfe to the hazard for his  
fake. 1654.

June 22.

About an hower after came another in the habit of a military officer, from the Grave to Whitelocke, to excuse the Grave's not coming, by reason of the very ill weather, and that no boate was to be gotten fitt to bring the Grave from shore to Whitelocke's ship; butt he said, that, if Whitelocke pleased to send his ship boates and marriners for the governor, the wind being somewhat fallen, he would come and kisse his hand.

Whitelocke answered in french to the gentleman, who spake dutch, and was interpreted in french, that he was glad his excellence was not in the daunger of the violent stormes in coming on board to him this morning, butt he should esteeme it great honor to see the governor in his ship; and that not only the boates and marriners, butt all in the ship was att the service of his excellence: the gentleman desired, that one of the ship boates and the ship marriners might carry him back to land, and so bring the governor from thence to Whitelocke, who commaunded the same to be done; and about an hower after came the Grave Rantzow, a proper comly person, habited as a soldier, about forty years of age; with him was another lord, governor of another province, and three or four gentlemen, and other followers.

Whitelocke received them att the ship's side, and att his entry gave him nine gunnes. The Grave seemed doubtfull to whom to make his application, Whitelocke being in a plaine sea gowne of english grey bayes; butt (as the governor said afterwards) he knew him to be the ambassador by seeing him with his hatt on, and so many brave fellowes



1654. about him bareheaded. After salutations, the governor  
 spoke to Whitelocke to this effect\* :  
 June 22.

\* See ap-  
 pendix  
 G. G.  
 for trans-  
 lation

“ Mon seigneur,

“ Le roy de Danemarc mon maistre m’a commandé de  
 “ venir trouver vostre excellence, et de la saluer de sa part,  
 “ et la faire la bien venue en ses Havres, et luy faire sçavoir  
 “ que s’il y a quelque chose dans ce pays la dont le gouver-  
 “ nement m’est confié par sa majesté, qu’il est à son com-  
 “ mandement. Sa majesté aussi à un extreme desir de voir  
 “ vostre excellence, et de vous entretenir en sa cour, de-  
 “ sirant d’embrasser toutes les occasions par les quelles il  
 “ pourroit tesmoigner le respect qu’il porte à son Altesse  
 “ mon seigneur le protecteur.”

\* See ap-  
 pendix  
 H. H.  
 for trans-  
 lation.

Whitelocke answered in french to this purpose\*.

“ Mon seigneur,

“ Je rends graces à sa majesté le roy de Danemarc, du  
 “ respect qu’il luy à pleu tesmoigner à son serenissime Altesse  
 “ mon maistre, et de l’honneur qu’il luy à pleu faire à moi  
 “ son serviteur, de quoi je ne manqueray pas d’informer  
 “ son Altesse ; je suis aussi beaucoup obligé à vostre excellence  
 “ pour l’honneur de vostre visite, qu’il vous plaist me don-  
 “ ner en ce lieu, et principalement en un temps si fâcheux.  
 “ J’eusse aussi grande envie de baiser les mains de sa majesté,  
 “ et de voir sa cour, n’eust esté que son Altesse à envoyé  
 “ des navires exprez pour m’emporter d’ici en Angleterre,  
 “ et que j’ai oui dire, que le roy a remeué sa cour de  
 “ Copenhague ailleurs, à cause de la peste. Jesu is très  
 “ joyeux d’entendre de la santé de sa majesté, au quel je  
 “ souhaite toute sorte de bonheur.”



After many complements, Whitelocke gave him precedence into his cabbin, and, after some discourse there, a servant of the agent of Holland was brought in to Whitelocke, who said, his master desired Whitelocke to appoint a time when the agent might come on board him, to salute Whitelocke and to kisse his hand; he answered, that, at any hower when his master pleased to doe Whitelocke that honor, he should be wellcome, and that some noble persons being now with him, who, he hoped, would doe him the favour to take part of a sea-dinner with him, that, if it would please the agent to doe him the same favour, and to keep these honorable persons company, it would be the greater obligation unto Whitelocke. The Agent, hearing this, began to excuse himselfe, that he could not stay dinner with Whitelocke, butt, upon intreaty, he was prevailed with to stay.

1654.  
June 22.

About noon the dutch agent came in one of Whitelocke's boates on board his ship, whom he received at the ship's side, and saluted with seven gunnes at his entry: the agent spake to Whitelocke to this purpose.

“ That, passing by Gluckstadt towards Hambourgh, he was informed of Whitelocke's being in this place, and therupon held it his duty, and agreeable to the will of his lords, not to proceed in his journey without first giving a visit to Whitelocke, to testify the respect of his superiors to the protector and common-wealth of England, as also to Whitelocke in perticular.”

Whitelocke returned thanks to the agent, for the respect which he testified to the protector, and for the honor done to Whitelocke, and that it would be acceptable to the protector to heare of this respect from my lords the states to him,



1654, wherof he should not fayle to informe his highnes, when he  
 June 22. should have the opportunity to be neer him.

The Grave went first into Whitelocke's cabbin, after him the agent, and then Whitelocke, who gave these guests a plentiful dinner on shipboard: the Grave desired that Whitelocke's sons might be called in to dine with them, which was done, and Whitelocke asked the Grave if he would have any of his company to dine with him; he desired one of the gentlemen, who was admitted accordingly.

They were served with the states plate, which Whitelocke had caused to be taken forth on this occasion; and the strangers would often take up the plates and dishes to looke on them, wondering to see so many great and massy pieces of silver plate as there were.

They dranke no healths, the Grave telling Whitelocke he had heard it was against his judgement, and therefore he did forbear to begin any healths; for which civility Whitelocke thanked him: and they had no want of good wine and meate, and such as scarce had bin seen before on shipboard.

They discoursed of the affayres in Sweden, and of the happy peace between England and Denmarke, and the like. Monsieur de la Marche gave thanks in french, bicause they all understood it.

After dinner Whitelocke tooke out his tobaccoe boxe, which the Grave looked uppon, being gould, and his armes, the three falcons ingraven on it; wheruppon he asked Whitelocke, if he loved hawkes, who said, he was a faulkener by inheritance, as his coate of arms testified: the Grave said, that he would send him some hawkes the next winter, out  
 of



of his master's dominions of Island, where the best in the world were bred ; which he nobly performed afterwards.

1654.  
June 22.

The Grave earnestly invited Whitelocke to goe on shore with him to his house, which was within two leagues of Gluckstadt, where he should meet Monsieur Scheftedt and his lady, and the next day he would bring Whitelocke to the king, who much desired to see him ; and the Grave offered to bring Whitelocke back agayne in his coach to Gluckstadt.

Whitelocke desired to be excused, by reason of his voyage and an order of his countrey, that those, who had the command of any of the states ships, were not to lye out of them, untill they brought them home againe ; otherwise, Whitelocke said, he had a great desire to kisse his majesty's hand, and to waite uppon his excellence and the noble company att his house ; and he desired that his humble thanks and excuse might be made to the king.

The Grave replied, that Whitelocke, being an extraordinary ambassador, was not within the order concerning commaunders of the states ships, butt he might be absent, and leave the charge of the ships to the inferior officers.

Whitelocke said, that, as ambassador, he had the honor to commaund those ships, and so was within the order, and was commaunded by his highnes to returne forthwith to England ; that if, in his absence, the wind and weather should come fayre, or any harme should come to any of the ships, he should be answerable for neglecting of his trust.

Whitelocke



1654. Whitelocke also was unwilling (though he must not expresse  
 June 22. the same) to putt himselfe under the trouble and temptations  
 which he might meet with in such a journey, and to neglect  
 the least opportunity of proceeding in his voyage home-  
 wards.

The Grave seeing Whitelocke not to be perswaded hastened  
 away ; and, after complements and ceremonies passed with  
 great civility, he and the agent, and their company, went into  
 one of Whitelocke's ship boates, with a crew of his men, and  
 his lieutenant to attend them : att their going off, by White-  
 locke's order, only one gunne was fired, and, a good while  
 after, the President fired all her gunnes round, the Elizabeth  
 (according to custome) did the like, so that there was a  
 continuall firing of great gunnes during the whole time of  
 their passage from the ship unto the shore, almost a hundred  
 gunnes, and the fort answered them with all the gunnes  
 they had.

Att the lieutenant's returne, he told Whitelocke, that the  
 Grave, when he heard butt one gunne fired for a good while  
 together, began to be highly offended, saying, that his  
 master, the king, was slighted, and himselfe dishonored, to  
 be sent away with one gun only fired, and he wondered the  
 ambassador carryed it in such a manner ; butt afterwards,  
 when the rest of the gunnes went off, the Grave said, he  
 would tell the king how highly the english ambassador had  
 honored his majesty, and his servant, by the most magni-  
 ficent intertainement that ever was made on shipboard, and  
 by the number of guns att his going away, and that this was  
 the greatest honor he ever received, with much to the like  
 purpose ; and he gave to the lieutenant for his paynes two  
 pieces of plate of silver guilt, and ten ricks dollers to the  
 boats



boats company, and twenty ricks dollers more to the ships 1654.  
company.

June 22.

This was the seventh day that Whitelocke had lyen on the Elbe, which was tedious to him; and now fresh provisions fayling, he sent captain Crispe to Gluckstadt to buy more, whose diligence and discretion carryed him through his imployments to the contentment of his master; he brought good provisions at cheape rates. 23.

The four captains of the english cloth ships came on board Whitelocke to visit him; they were sober experienced sea commaunders; their ships lay att anchor close to Whitelocke: after dinner, they told Whitelocke, that, if their ships had been three leagues lower down the river, they could not have anchored in this bad weather without extreame daunger, the sea being there much higher, and the tyde so strong, that their cables would not have held their ships; and that, if they had bin att sea in this weather, they had bin in imminent perill of shipwracke; and could not have returned into the river, nor have putt into the Weser, nor any other harbour.

Whitelocke sayd, that they and he were the more bound to God, who had so ordered their affayres as to keep them, during all the stormes wherin they had bin, in a safe and good harbour: he wished them in this and all their voyages to place their confidence in God, who would be the same God to them as now, and in all their affayres of this life.

The captains desired Whitelocke's leave to carry their streamers and colours, and to be received by him as part of his fleet in their voyage for England, and they would acknowledge him for their admirall.

Whitelocke



1654. Whitelocke told them, he should be gladde of their com-  
 June 23. pany in his voyage, and would willingly admitt them as  
 part of his smalle fleet, butt he would expect their observance  
 of his orders; and, if there should be occasion, that they  
 must joyne with him in fight against any ennemies of the  
 common-wealth whom they should meet with, which they  
 promised to doe; and Whitelocke mentioned it to the cap-  
 tains, bicause he had received intelligence of a ship loaden with  
 armes comming out of the Weser for Scotland, with a strong  
 convoy, with whom Whitelocke resolved to try his strength,  
 if he could meet them.

In the afternoon, two marchants of the cloth ships came  
 to visit Whitelocke, and showed great respect to him; and  
 they and the captains returned together to their ships, the  
 wind being allayed, and come about to the south, which  
 gave Whitelocke hopes to proceed in his voyage.

24. The wind being come to west south-west, a little fallen,  
 about three a'clocke in the morning they began to weigh  
 anchor. By Whitelocke's commaund all the ships were to  
 observe this order in their sayling.

Every morning, each ship was to come up and sayle by  
 Whitelocke and salute him, that he might inquire how they  
 all did; then they were to fall a sterne againe, Whitelocke  
 to be in the vanne, and the Elizabeth in the reare, and the  
 other ships in the middle between them; all to carry their  
 colours, Whitelocke to carry his in the maine-top, and all  
 to take their orders from his ship.

Thus they did this morning; the cloth ships came all by  
 Whitelocke, and saluted him the first with nine guns. White-  
 locke



locke answered her with as many; then she gave three  
guns more to thanke him for his salutation.

1654.  
June 24.

Each of the other ships gave seven guns at their passing by; then the fort of Gluckstadt discharged all their ordnance to give Whitelocke the farwell, who then fired twenty-one guns, and the Elizabeth nineteen; then the cloth ships fired three guns a-piece as thanks for their salutation; and so, with their sayles spread, they committed themselves to the protection of the Almighty.

Though these things may be looked uppon by some as triviall and expensive, yett those, who goe to sea, will find them usefull, and of consequence, both to keep up and cheer the spirits of the seamen, who will not be pleased without them, and to give an honor to one's countrey among strangers who are taken with them; and it is become a kind of sea language and ceremony, and teacheth them also the better to speake it in battle.

Some emulation happened between the captain of the President and Minnes, bicause Whitelocke went not with him, butt in the other's ship, which Whitelocke would have avoyded, butt that he apprehended the President sent purposely for him.

Between seven and eight a'clocke in the morning, Whitelocke past by a village called Brown-Bottle, belonging to the king of Denmark, uppon the river in Holtstein, four leagues from Gluckstadt; and four leagues from thence he past by a village, on the other side of the Elbe, which (they told him) was called Oldenburgh, and belonged to the duke of Saxony: two leagues below that he came to anchor over against a village called Rose Beacon, a fayre beacon standing by the



1654. water side ; it belongs to Hambourgh, and, by a late accident  
 of a foldier's discharging his musquet, it sett a house on fire  
 June 24. and burnt halfe the towne ; some of Whitelocke's people  
 went on shore, and reported it to be a poore place, and no  
 provisions to be had there.

The roade heer is well defended by a compasse of  
 land on the south and west, butt to the north and  
 east it lyes open ; the sea there is wide, butt full of  
 high sandes : the river is so shallowe in some places, that  
 there was scarce three fathom water where he past between  
 Brown-Bottle and Oldenbergh, where his ship stricke uppon  
 the sand and made fowle water, to the imminent daunger of  
 him and all his people, had not the Lord in mercy kept them.  
 They were forced presently to tack about, and seeke for  
 deeper water ; the pilote confessed this to happen, bicause  
 they lay too farre to gaine the wind, which brought them  
 uppon the shallowe.

Whitelocke came to Rose Beacon before noone, which is  
 not very safe if the wind be high, as now it was ; yett much  
 safer then to be out in the open sea, whither the pilote  
 durst not venture, the wind rising and being contrary to  
 them.

25. The *Lord's day*. Mr. Ingelo, Whitelocke's chaplein,  
 preached in his ship in the morning : Mr. de la March, his  
 other chaplein, was sicke of a dysentery, which he fell into  
 by drinking too much milke on shore. Mr. Knowles, a  
 confident young man, the ship's minister, preached in the  
 afternoon.

The wind blew very strong and contrary all the last night  
 and this morning, which made it troublesome riding in this  
 place ;



place; in so much, that the four cloth ships, doubting the continuance of this tempestuous weather, and fearing the daunger, that their cables would not hold, which fayling would indaunger all, and not being well furnished with provisions, they weighed anchor this morning flood, and sayled back againe to Gluckstadt roade; wherof they sent notice to Whitelocke, desiring his excuse for what their safety forced them to doe: butt Whitelocke thought it not requisite to follow their example, men of warre having better cables then marchantmen; and being better able to indure the streffe of weather, and he being better furnished with provisions, he resolved to trye it out in this place.

1654.  
June 25.

In the afternoon the wind was somewhat appeased, and blew west south-west. A messenger came aboard Whitelocke, and informed him, that Grave Rantzow had sent a noble present, a boate full of fresh provisions to Whitelocke; butt by reason of the violent stormes, and Whitelocke being gone from Gluckstadt, the boate could not come att him, butt was forced to returne backe, and so Whitelocke lost his present; the letters mentioning this were delivered to Whitelocke by this messenger, and were these \*.

\* See appendix  
I. I.  
for translation.

*A son excellence Monsieur Whitelocke, ambassadeur extraordinaire d'Angleterre vers sa majesté la reyne de Suede.*

“ Mon Seigneur,

“ Nous croyons estre obligez de fayre cognoistre à vostre  
“ excellence, que mon seigneur le comte de Rantzow,  
“ nostre maistre nous avoit donné commission de venir, très  
“ humblement baiser les mains de vostre excellence, et  
“ luy fayre presenter quelques cerfs, sangliers, lievres, per-  
“ dris, et quantité des carps; la supplier de s'en re-

Y y 2

“ freschir



1654. “ freschir un peu, pendant que l’opiniaftreté d’un vent  
June 25. “ contraire, luy empecheroit une meilleure commodité, et  
“ d’affeurer vofre excellence de la part de mon feigneur  
“ le comte, qu’il fouhaite avec paffion de pouvoir tef-  
“ moigner à vofre excellence combien il defire les occa-  
“ fions pour luy rendre très humbles fervices, et con-  
“ trafter avec elle une amitié plus eftroite, et comme fon  
“ excellence s’en alloit trouver le roy fon maiftre, qu’il ne  
“ laifferoit point de dire à fa majefté les civilitez que vofre  
“ excellence luy avoit faites, et que fa majefté espouferoit  
“ fans doute fes intereffs, pour l’affifter de s’acquiter de  
“ fon devbir avec plus de vigueur, lorsque la fortune luy en  
“ fourniroit quelque ample matière.

“ Mais, mon feigneur, nous avons esté fi malheureux  
“ d’arriver à Gluckftadt cinq ou fix heures après que  
“ vofre excellence avoit fait voile, et estoit descendue vers  
“ la mer, toutes fois avons nous pris viftement un vaisseau  
“ pour fuivre, et n’estions guerés, loin du Havre où l’on  
“ difoit que vofre excellence estoit contrainte d’attendre  
“ un vent encore plus favorable ; quand nostre vaisseau  
“ n’estant point chargé fust tellement battu par une  
“ grande tempefte, que nous estions obligez de nous en  
“ retourner fans pouvoir executer les ordres de mon feig-  
“ neur le comte nostre maiftre, d’ont nous avons un  
“ desplaisir incroyable. Vofre excellence a une bonté et  
“ generofité très parfaite, c’est pour quoy nous la fup-  
“ plions très humblement, d’imputer plus toft à nostre  
“ malheur qu’ à la volonté de mon feigneur le comte, le  
“ mauvais fuccez de cette nostre enterprife, auffi bien la  
“ lettre icy enfermée de fon excellence mon feigneur le  
“ comte donnera plus de croyance à nos paroles.

“ Nous



“ Nous demandons très humblement pardon à vostre 1654.  
 “ excellence de la longueur de celle cy, et espérons quelque  
 “ rencontre plus heureuse pour luy tesmoigner, de meil- June 25.  
 “ leure grace, que nous sommes passionément.

“ Mon seigneur, de vostre excellence,

“ très humbles et très obeissants serviteurs,

“ Francis Louis Van de Wiele.

“ Balth. Borne.”

The inclosed letter from the count, which they mention-  
 ed, was this \* :

\* See ap-  
 pendix  
 K. K.  
 for trans-  
 lation

Illustri et nobilissimo domino Bulstrodo Whitelocke, consta-  
 bulario castri de Windsor, et domino custodi magni sigilli  
 reipublicæ Angliæ, adq; serenissimam reginam Sueciæ le-  
 gato extraordinario; Amico meo plurimum honorando.

*Illustris et nobilissime domine legatæ, amice plurimum hono-  
 rande.*

“ Quod excellentia vestra me hesternò die tam magni-  
 “ fice et laute exceperit, id ut pro singulari agnosco bene-  
 “ ficio ; ita ingentes excellentiæ vestræ ago gratias, et nihil  
 “ magis in votis habeo, quam ut occasio mihi offeratur,  
 “ qua benevolentiam hanc aliquando debite refarcire possim.

“ Cum itaq; videam ventum adhuc esse contrarium,  
 “ adeo ut excellentia vestra anchoram solvere versusq; pa-  
 “ triam vela vertere nec dum possit; partium mearum  
 “ duxi aliquo modo gratum meum ostendere animum et  
 “ præsentem ad excellentiam vestram ablegare, simulq;  
 “ aliquid



1654. " aliquid carnis, farinæ, et piscium, prout festinatio tem-  
 ~~~~~  
 June 25. " poris admittere potuit, offerre, excellentiam vestram
 " obnixè rogans ut oblatum æqui boniq; consulere digne-
 " tur. Et quamvis ex animo excellentiæ vestræ ventum
 " secundum, et ad iter omnia prospera exoptem; nihilo
 " tamen minus, si forte fortuna in hisce locis vicinis
 " diutius adhuc subsistere cogatur, ministris meis injungam,
 " ut excellentiæ vestræ in absentia mea (quoniam in pro-
 " cinctu sum me crastino mane ad regiam majestatem domi-
 " num meum clementissimum conferre) ulterius inservire,
 " et quicquid occasio obtulerit subministrare debeant.

" De cætero nos divinæ commendo protectioni, et excel-
 " lentia vestræ filios dilectissimos meo nomine salutare
 " obnixè rogo.

" Dabam in arce mea Breitenburos, 23 Junii, anno
 " 1654.

" Excellentiæ vestræ

" observantissimus totusq; addictus,

" Christianus comes in Rantzow."

Whitelocke did the rather insert these letters to testify the abilities of the gentlemen servants to this Grave, as also the gratefull affection of their master towards him a stranger to them, uppon one meales intertainment and acquaintance.

About six a'clocke att night, Mr. Smith, son to alderman Smith of London, and two other young marchants of the english company att Hambourgh, came on board to Whitelocke, and brought letters to him from the resident Bradeshawe, with those the resident received by this weekes
 post

post from London ; wherin was little newes, and no letters 1654.
 came to Whitelocke, bicause (as he supposed) his friends be- ^{June 25.}
 lieved him to be uppon the sea. Whitelocke wrote letters of
 thanks to the resident, and inclosed in them letters of com-
 plement to the ricks chancellor, and to his son Grave Eric
 of Sweden, and to Sir George Fletewood, and others, his
 friends, and intreated the resident to send them into Sweden.

The wind not being so high the last night, nor this morn- 26.
 ing as formerly, butt the weather promising fayre, and
 Whitelocke longing to advance in his voyage, he weighed
 anchor about breake of day, the Elizabeth did the like, and
 they were under sayle about four a'clocke this morning : as
 they came out from Rose Beacon, they told above thirty
 fisher boates att sea, testifying the industriousnes of this
 people.

About two leagues from Rose Beacon they passed in sight
 of another Beacon, and of a village which they call New-
 worke, in which is a smalle castle like unto that at Rose
 Beacon. Heer the sea began to expatiate, and about three
 leagues from hence was the lowest buoy of the river.

And now Whitelocke was gott forth into the open Ger-
 man ocean, a sea wide and large, oft-times highly rough
 and boisterous, and full of daunger, especially in these
 parts of it, and as Whitelocke shortly found it to be.

Suddeinly the wind grew high, and the sea swelled, and
 they were faine to take in their top-sayles ; the ship rowled
 and tossed sufficiently to make the younger seamen sicke,
 and all fearfull.

From

1654.

June 26.

From this place they might see an island on the star-board side of them called Halygoland, standing a great way into the sea, twelve leagues from Rose Beacon: the island is about six miles in compasse; the inhabitants have a language, habit, and lawes, different from their neighbors, and are said to have many witches among them; their shoares are found very dangerous, and many ships wrecked uppon them.

About noone the wind came more to the west, and sometimes it was calme; nevertheless, the sea wrought high, the waves rayed by the former stormes not abating a long while after the storme ceased.

When they were gone about two leagues beyond Halygoland, the wind and tyde turning against them, they were driven back agayne neer two leagues short of the island; butt about four a'clocke in the afternoone, the wind being come to south south-east, and a fresh gale, they went on well in their course, running about eight leagues in a watch: before it was night they had left Halygoland out of sight, and gott about eight leagues beyond it; and the Elizabeth kept up with Whitelocke.

From hence he came in sight of divers smalle islands uppon the dutch coast, which lye in ranke from the mouthe of the Elbe unto the Texell. In the evening they spyed a sayle to the leeward of them, butt so farre off, that Whitelocke held it not fitt, being almost darke, to goe so farre as he must doe out of his way to inquire after her, and she seemed, att that distance, to stand for the course of England.

The

The last night the wind, having chopt about, had much hindered Whitelocke's course, and made him uncertaine where they were; yett he went on labouring in the maine; butt the seamen guessed, by the ship's making way and holding it (though sometimes forward and sometimes backward), that this morning by eight a'clocke they had gained thirty leagues from Halygoland, from which to Orfordness they reckon eighty leagues, and the Flye to be midway.

1654.
June 27.

The ship, which they saw last night comming neer them this morning, they found to be of Amsterdam, comming from the Sundt homewards: she strucke her sayles to Whitelocke, and so passed on her course.

About noone Whitelocke came over against the Flye, and saw the tower there, about five or six leagues from him. The wind lessened, and the sea did not goe so high as before; he went on his course, about four or five leagues in a watch: about seven or eight Holland ships made their course by them (as was supposed) towards the Sundt, which now they did without feare or daunger, the peace between the two common-wealths being confirmed.

Whitelocke's fresh provisions beginning to fayle, and his biscuit lessened by affording part of it to the Elizabeth, which wanted, he was inforced to order that there should be butt one meale a day, to make his provisions hold out.

The most part of the afternoon they were taken with a calme, till about seven a'clocke in the evening, when the wind came fresh agayne to the east, and towards the north, and then would againe change; and sometimes they kept their course, and sometimes they were driven back agayne: the wind was high and variable, and they toyled

1654. to and agayne, uncertaine where they were; divers tooke
 June 27. the opportunity to recreate themselves by fishing, and the
 mackarell, and other fish, they tooke, gave a little supply to
 their want of victuall.

About nine a'clocke in the evening they lost the Elizabeth, leaving her behind about three leagues; she used to keep a distance from Whitelocke's ship, and under the wind of her since they began their voyage; and, as a stranger, would not keep company with Whitelocke, being discontented, bicause he went not in that frigott.

28. This Wednesday was the day of Whitelocke's greatest deliverance. After midnight, till three a'clocke in the afternoon was a great calme, and though the President were taken with it, yett the Elizabeth had a good wind; and notwithstanding that, the day before, she was left behind a great distance, yett this morning she came up neer to him, and gott before him: so great is the difference sometimes, and att so smalle a distance, att sea, that heer one ship shall have no wind att all, and another ship a few yeards from her shall have her sayles filled.

Notwithstanding the calme, yett the wind being by flashes large, they went the last night and the day before twenty leagues up and downe, sometimes in their course, and sometimes out of it: in the morning, founding with the plummet, the pilote judged that they were about sixteen leagues from the Texell, and twenty-four from Orfordnesse, butt he did not certainly know whereabouts they were; between three and four a'clocke in the afternoon, the wind came to north north-west, which gave them hopes of finishing their voyage the sooner, and it blew a fresh gale.

About

About five a'clocke in the evening rose a very great fogge and thicke mist, so that it was exceeding darke, and they could not see their way a ship's length before them. Whitelocke came uppon the deckes, and, seeing the weather so bad and night comming on, and that all their sayles were spred, and they ran extraordinary fast, he did not like it, butt called together the captaine, the master, the pilote, and others, to consult what was best to be done. He asked them, why they spred all their sayles, and desired to make so much way in so ill weather, and so neer to night? They said, they had so much sayle bicause the wind favoured them, and that, notwithstanding the bad weather, they might safely runne as they did, having sea roome enough. Whitelocke asked them, if they knew whereabouts they were? they confest they did not; bicause they had bin so much tossed up and downe by contrary winds, and the sun had not shined, wherby they might take the elevation. Whitelocke replyed, that, having bin driven forward and backward as they had bin, it was impossible to know where they were; that the ship had runne, and did now runne, extraordinary fast, and if she should runne so all night, perhaps they might be in daunger of the english coast, or of the holland coast; and that by Norfolke there were great bankes of sand, by which he had past att sea formerly, and which could not be unknowne to them; that in case the ship should fall uppon those sands, or any other daungers of that coast, before morning, they should be all lost; and therefore he thought fitt to take downe some of their sayles, and slacken their course, till, by day-light, they might come to know more certainly in what part they were.

The officers of the ship continued earnest to hold on their course, saying, they would warrant it, that there was

1654. running enough for all night, and that to take downe any
 June 28. fayle, now the wind was so good for them, would be a great wrong to them in their course; butt Whitelocke was little satisfied with their reasons, and lesse with their warranties, which among them are not of binding force: his own reason showed him, that, not knowing where they were, and in such weather as this, to run on as they did, they knew not whither, with all their sayles spread, might be dangerous; butt to take downe some of their sayles, and to slacken their course, could be no daunger and butt little prejudice in the hinderance of their course this night, which he thought better to be borne then to indaunger all.

Butt chiefly it was the goodnes of God to putt it strongly uppon Whitelocke's heart to over-rule the seamen in this perticular, though in their own art, and though his own desires were sufficiently earnest to hasten to his deare relations and countrey; yett the present haste he feared might hinder the seeing of them att all. Uppon a strange earnestnes in his own mind and judgement, he gave a positive commaund to the captain to cause all the sayles to be taken downe, except the main-sayle only, and that to be halfe furled: uppon the captain's dispute, Whitelocke with quicknes told him, that, if he did not presently see it done, he would cause another to doe it; wheruppon the captain obeyed; and it was a great mercy that the same was done, which God directed as a means to save their lives.

After the sayles were taken downe, Whitelocke also ordered them to sound and trye what water and bottome they had; about ten a'clocke in the evening sounding, they found eighteen fathome water, the next sounding they had butt fifteen fathome, and so lessened every sounding till they came to eight fathome, which startled them, and
 made

made them indeavor to tacke about ; butt it was too late, 1654. for, within lesse then a quarter of an hower after they had eighteen fathome water, the ship strucke uppon a banke of ^{June 28.} sande, and there stucke fast.

Whitelocke was sitting with some of the gentlemen in the steerage roome when this happened, and felt a strange motion of the frigott, as if she had leaped, and not unlike the curvetting of a great horse ; and the violence of the striking threw severall of the gentlemen from off their seates into the midst of the roome.

The condition they were in was quickly understood, and both seamen and landmen discovered it, by the wonderfull terror and amazement which had seized on them, and more uppon the seamen then others who knew lesse of the daunger.

It pleased his good God to keep up the spirits and faith of Whitelocke in this great extreamity ; and when nothing would be done butt what he in person ordered, in this frightfull confusion God gave him extraordinary fixtnes and assistance, a temper and constancy of spirit beyond what was usuall with him. He ordered the master gunner presently to fire some pieces of ordnance (after the custome att sea) to signify their being in distresse ; butt the gunner was so amazed with the daunger, that he forgott to unbrace the gunnes, and shott away the maine sheate ; and had not the ship bin strong and staunche, the gunnes being fired when they were close braced, they had broke the sides of her.

Whitelocke caused the gunnes to be unbraced, and divers of them fired, to give notice to the Elizabeth, or any other ship

1654. ship that might be within hearing, to come in to their
June 28. assistance; butt they heard no gunnes againe to answer
theirs, though they longed for it, hoping that the Elizabeth, or any other ship, comming in to them, by their boates, might save the lives of some of them.

Whitelocke also caused lights to be sett up in the topgallant, used att sea by those in distresse to invite help; butt the lights were not answered agayne by any other ship or vessell; perticularly they wondered that nothing was heard or seen from the Elizabeth.

Whitelocke then ordered the sayles of the ship to be reversed, that the winde, being high, might so help them off; butt no help was by it, nor by all the people's coming together to the sterne, then to the head, then to the sides of the ship, all in a heape together; nothing would help them. Then Whitelocke ordered the marriners to hoist out one of the boates, in which some of the company would have perswaded Whitelocke to putt himselfe, and to leave the rest, and seek to preserve his own life, by trusting to the seas in this boate; and they, that advised this, offered willingly to goe with him.

Butt Whitelocke knew that, if he should goe into the boate (besides the dishonor of leaving his people in this distresse), so many would strive to enter into the boate with him (a life knowes no ceremony) that probably the boate would be funke by the crowding; and there was little hope of escaping in such a boate, though he should gett well off from the ship, and the boate not be over loaden.

He therefore ordered the captain to take a few of the seamen into the boate with him, and to goe round the ship
and

and found what water was on each side of her, and what hopes they could find, and by what means to gett her off, ^{1654.} June 28. himselfe resolving to abide the same fortune with his followers.

The captaine found it very shallow to windward, and very deep to leeward, butt no hopes of help; and, att his returne, the master advised to lighten the ship by casting over-board the goods in her: Whitelocke held it best to begin with the ordnance, and gave order for it. Mr. Earle was contriving how to save his master's jewells, which were of some value; his master tooke more care to save his papers, to him more pretious jewells: butt there was noe hope of saving any goods or lives. Whitelocke putt in his pocket a tablet of gold of his wife's picture, that this, being found about his dead body when it should be taken up, might shew him to have bin a gentleman, and fatisfy for his buryall.

One was designing to gett uppon a planke, others uppon the masts, others uppon other fancies, any way to preserve life; butt no way was left wherby they could have the least shadow or hopes of a deliverance.

The captain went up to the quarter decke, saying, there he lived and there he would dye; all the officers (sadly enough) concluded that there was not the least shew of any hopes of preservation, butt that they were all dead men; and that, uppon the returne of the tyde, the ship would questionles be dasht in pieces.

Some lay crying in one corner, others lamenting in another; some, who vaunted most in time of safety, were now most dejected: the tears, and sighs, and waylings, in

1654. in all parts of the ship, would have melted a stony heart
 June 28. into pitty; every swelling wave seemed great in expectation
 of its booty; the raging waves foamed, as if their prey
 were too long detained from them; every billow threatened
 present death, who every moment stared in their faces for
 almost two howers together.

In this condition Whitelocke encouraged his two sons to
 undergoe the pleasure of God with all submission. He was
 sorry for them, being young men, who might have lived
 many years to doe God and their countrey service, that
 they now should be snatched away so untimely; butt he
 told them, that if father and sons must now dye together, he
 doubted not butt they should goe together to that happines
 which admits no change; that he did not so much lament
 his owne condition, being an old man, in the course of
 nature much neerer the grave then they: butt he besought
 God to blesse them, and yett to appear for their deliverance,
 if it were his will, or else to give him and them, and all the
 company, hearts willing to submit to his good pleasure.

Walking on the deckes to see his orders executed for
 throwing the ordnance over-board, the boate-swaine mett
 him, and spake to him in his language.

Boatf. My lord, what doe you meane to doe?

Wh. Wherin dost thou aske my meaning?

Bo. You have commaunded the ordnance to be cast over-
 board.

Wh. It is for our preservation.

Bo.

Bo. If it be done we are all destroyed.

1654.

June 28.

Wh. What reason have you to be of this opinion? Must we not lighten the ship; and can we doe it better then to begin with the ordnance?

Bo. It may doe well to lighten the ship, butt not by throwing over-board the ordnance; for you can butt drop them close to the ship's side, and where the water is shallowe they will lye up against the side of the ship and fret it, and with the working of the sea make her to springe leakes presently.

Wh. I thinke thou speakest good reason; and I will trye a little longer before it be done.

Bo. My lord, doe not doubtte butt God will shew himselfe, and bring you off by his own hand from this daunger.

Wh. Hast thou any ground to judge so, or dost thou see any probability of it?

Bo. I confesse there is no probability for it; butt God hath putt it into my heart to tell your excellence, that he will appear our deliverer when all other hopes and helps fayle us, and he will save us by his owne power; and let us trust in him.

Uppon this discourse with the honest boate-swaine, who walked up and downe as quite unconcerned, Whitelocke forbade the throwing of the ordnance over-board; and as he was sitting on the decke, Mr. Ingelo, one of his chaplains,

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A a a

came

1654. came to him and said, that he was glad to see him in so
 June 28. good a temper.

Wh. I blesse God, who keeps up my spirit.

Ing. My lord, such composednes, and not being daunted in this distresse, is a testimony of God's presence with you.

Wh. I have cause to thanke God, whose presence hath bin with me in all my daungers, and most in this greatest, which I hope and pray that he would fitt us all to submit unto.

Ing. I hope he will ; and I am glad to see your sons, and others, to have so much courage left in so high a daunger.

Wh. God hath not suffered me, nor them, nor yourselfe, to be dejected in this great tryall ; and it gives me comfort att this time to observe it, nor doth it leave me without some hopes, that God hath yett a mercy in store for us.

Ing. There is little hopes of continuance in this life ; it is good to prepare ourselves for a better life ; and therefore, if you please that the company may be called together into your cabbin, it will be good to joyne in prayer, and recommending our souls to him that gave them ; I believe they are not to remaine long in these bodyes of clay.

Wh. I hope every one doth this apart ; and it is very fitt likewise to joyne together in doing it ; therefore I pray send and call the people into my cabbin to prayer.

Whilest Mr. Ingelo was gone to call the people together, a mariner came, from the head of the ship, running hastily
 towards

towards Whitelocke, and crying out to him, which caused 1654.
 Whitelocke to suspect that the ship had sprung a leake, or ^{June 28.}
 was sinking. The marriner called out;

Mar. My lord! my lord! my lord!

Wh. What's the matter, mariner?

Mar. She waggess! she waggess!

Wh. Which way doth she wagge?

Mar. To Leeward.

Wh. I pray God that be true; and it is the best newes that
 ever I heard in my life.

Mar. My lord, uppon my life the ship did wag; I saw
 her move.

Wh. Mr. Ingelo, I pray stay a while before you call the
 people; it may be God will give us occasion to change the
 stile of our prayers. Fellow seaman, shoue me where thou
 sawest her move.

Mar. My lord heer, att the head of the frigott I saw her
 move; and she moves now: now she moves! you may
 see it.

Wh. My old eyes cannot discerne it.

Mar. I see it plaine, and so doe others.

Whilest they were thus speaking and looking, within
 lesse then halfe a quarter of an hower, the ship herselfe

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came

1654. came off from the sand, and miraculously floated on the
 water.
 June 28.

The ship being thus, by the wonderfull immediate hand of God, againe floating on the sea, the marriners would have bin hoyfing of their sayles; butt Whitelocke forbad it, and said, he would sayle no more that night: butt, as soone as the ship had floated a good way from the banke of sand, he caused them to lett fall their anchors, that they might stay till morning to see where they were, and spend the rest of the night in giving thanks to God for his most eminent, most miraculous, deliverance.

Being driven by the wind about a mile from the sand, there they cast anchor, and fell into discourse of the providences and goodnes of God to them in this unhoped for preservation.

One observed, that, if Whitelocke had not positively overruled the seamen, and made them, contrary to their own opinions, to take downe their sayles, butt that the ship had runne with all her sayles spred, and with that force had strucke into the sand, it had bin impossible for her ever to have come off againe, butt they must all have perished.

Another observed, that the ship did strike so uppon the banke of sand, that the wind was on that side of her where the banke was highest, and so the strength of the wind lay to drive the ship from the banke towards the deep water.

Another supposed, that the ship did strike on the shelving part of the banke of sand, and the wind blowing from the higher part of the banke, the weight of the ship thus pressed by the wind, and working towards the lower part of the shelving

shelving of the banke, the sand crumbled away from the ship, and thereby, and with the wind, she was sett on floate ^{1654.} agayne. June 28.

Another observed, that, if the ship had struck higher on the banke, or deeper, when her sayles had bin spreadde, with the force of her way, they could not, in the least probability, have bin saved.

Another observed, that through the goodnes of God the wind rose higher, and came more to that side of the ship where the banke of sand was highest, after the ship was struck, which was a great means of her comming off; and that, as soone as she was floated, the wind was layd, and came about againe to another quarter.

Another observed, that it being att that time ebbing water, was a great means of their preservation; because the ship being so farre struck into the sand, and so great a ship, a flowing water could not have rayfed her, butt, uppon the comming in of the tide, she would questionless have bin broke in pieces.

The mariners said, that, if God had not loved the landmen more then the seamen, they should never have come off from this daunger.

Every one made his observations: Whitelocke concluded them to this purpose.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I desire that we may all joyne together in applying these observations and mercyes to the prayse of God, and
to

1654. to the good of our own soules. Lett me exhort you never
 June 28. to forgett this deliverance, and this signall mercy: while the
 love of God is warme uppon our hearts, lett us resolve to
 retaine a thankfull memory of it to our lives end; and, for
 the time to come, to imploy those lives, which God hath
 now given to us and renewed to us, to the honor and
 prayse of him, who hath thus most wonderfully and most
 mercifully revived us, and as it were new created us.

“ Lett us become new creatures; forsake your former
 lusts in your ignorance, and follow that God fully, who
 hath so eminently appeared for us to save us out of our
 distresse; and as God hath given us new lives, so lett us
 live in newnes of life, and holynes of conversation.”

Whitelocke caused his people to come into his cabbin,
 where Mr. Ingelo prayed with them, and returned prayses
 to the Lord for this deliverance: an occasion sufficient to
 elevate his spirit, and, meeting with his affections and abi-
 lities, tended the more to the setting forth his glory, whose
 name they had so much cause more then others to advance
 and honor.

Many of the seamen came in to prayers, and White-
 locke talked with divers of them uppon the mercy they
 had received, who seemed to be much moved with the
 goodnes of God to them; and Whitelocke sought to make
 them and all the company sensible of God's gracious
 dealings, and to bring it home to the hearts of them.

He also held it a duety to leave to his owne family this
 large relation, and remembrance of the Lord's signall mercy
 to him and his; whereby they might be induced the more to
 serve the God of their fathers, to trust in him who never

sayles those that seeke him; and to love that God intirely, 1654.
 who hath manifested so much love to them, and that in ^{June 28.}
 their greatest extremities: and heerby to indeavour, that
 a gratefull acknowledgement of the goodnes and unspeake-
 able love of God might be transmitted to his childrens chil-
 dren; that as God never forgetts to be gracious, so his ser-
 vants may never forgett to be thankfull, butt to expresse
 the thankfullnes of their hearts by the actions of their lives.

Whitelocke spent this night in discourses uppon this hap-
 py subject, and went not to bed att all, butt expected the
 returne of day; and the more to expresse cheerfullnes to the
 seamen, he promised, that as soon as light did appeare, if
 they would up to the shrowdes, and top, he, that could first
 descrie land, should have his reward, and a bottle of good
 sacke advantage.

As soon as day appeared, the mariners claymed many 29.
 rewards and bottles of sacke, fundry of them pretending to
 have first discovered land, and Whitelocke endeavoured to
 give them all content in this day of rejoycing. God having
 bin pleased to turne their sorrowe into joy, by preserving
 them in their great daunger, and presently after by show-
 ing them their longed for native countrey; making them,
 when they were in their highest expectation of joy to arrive
 in their beloved countrey, then to disappoint their hopes,
 by casting them into the extreamest daunger: thus making
 them sensible of the incertainty of this world's condition,
 and checking perhaps their too much earthly confidence,
 to lett them see his power to controlle it, and to change
 their immoderate expectation of joy into a bitter doubt of
 present death; yett againe, when he had made them sensi-
 ble therof, to make his equall power appeare for their de-
 liverance, when vaine was the help of man; and, to bring
 them

1654. them to depend more on him, then was he pleased to
June 29. ^{rescue} them by his own hand out of the jawes of death,
and to restore them with a great addition to their former
hopes of rejoycing by showing them their native coast, the
first thing made knowne to them after their deliverance from
perishing.

The day being cleer, they found themselves uppon the
coast of Norfolke, and (as they guessed) about eight leagues
from Yarmouth, where they supposed their guns might be
heard the last night.

The wind being good, Whitelocke ordered to weigh
anchor, and they sayled along the coast, sometimes within
halfe a league of it, untill they past Orfordnesse and came
to Oseley bay ; where they againe anchored, the weather
being so thicke with a great fogge and much raine, that
they could not discerne the markes and bouyes to avoyd
the sandes, and to conduct them to the mouth of the river.

A short time after the weather began to cleer againe,
which invited them to weigh anchor, and putt the ship
under sayle ; butt they made little way, that they might
not hinder their sounding, which Whitelocke directed, the
better to avoid the daunger of the sands, wherof this coast
is full.

Neer the roade of Harwich the Elizabeth appeared under
sayle on head of the President, who, overtaking her, cap-
tain Minnes came on board to Whitelocke, who told him
the condition they had bin in the last night, and expostu-
lated with him to this purpose.

Wh. Being in this distresse we fired divers gunnes, hoping that you, captain Minnes, could not butt heare us and come in to our reliefe, knowing this to be the order of the sea in such cafes. 1654.
June 29.

Minnes. My lord, I had not the least imagination of your being in distresse; butt I confesse I heard your cannon, and believed them to be fired by reason of the fogge, which is the custome of the sea, in such weather, to advertise one another where they are.

Wh. Uppon such an occasion as the fogge, seamen use to give notice to one another by two or three gunnes; butt I caused many more to be fired.

Mi. I heard butt four or five in all; and I answered your gunnes by firing some of mine.

Wh. We heard not one of your gunnes.

Mi. That might be by reason we were to windward of you three leagues.

Wh. Why then did you not answer the lights which I caused to be sett up?

Mi. My lord, those in my ship can wittnesse that I sett up lights againe, and caused squibbes and fireworkes to be cast up into the aier, that you might therby discern whereabouts we were.

Wh. It was strange, that we could neither see yours, nor you our lights.

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June 29.

Mi. The greatnes of the fogge might occasion it.

Wh. The lights would appeare through the fogge, as well as in the night.

Mi. My lord, I did all this.

Wh. It was contrary to my orders for you to keep so farre off from me, and to be on sterne of me three leagues; butt this hath bin your practice since we first came out to sea together; and if you had bin under the commaund of some others, as you were under mine, they would have expected more obedience then you have given to my orders, or have taken another course with you, which I can doe likewise.

Mi. My lord, I indeavoured to gett the wind of you, that I might therby be able to keep in your company, which otherwise I could not have done, you being so much fleetier then the Elizabeth; butt in the evenings I constantly came up to your excellence.

Wh. Why did you not so the last night?

Mi. The fogge rose about five a'locke, and was so thicke, that we could not see two ships length before us: in that fogge I lost you, and fearing there might be danger in the night to fall uppon the coast, I went off to sea, supposing you had done so likewise, as (under favour) your captain ought to have done; and for my obedience to your excellency's commaunds, it hath bin, and shall be, as full and as willing, as to any person living.

M

B p b

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Wh. When you found by my gunnes, that you were so 1654.
farre from me to the windward, you might feare that I was 
fallen into that daunger which you had avoyded, by keep- June 29.
ing yourselfe under the wind more att large att sea.

Mi. If I had in the least imagined your excellence to have
bin in daunger, we had bin worse than Turkes, if we had
not indeavoured to come in to your succour; and though it
was impossible, as we lay, for our ship to come up to your
excellence, yett I should have adventured with my boates to
have sought you out: butt that you were in any daunger
was never in our thoughts; and three howers after your
gunnes fired, founding, I found by the lead the redde sand,
which made me thinke both your excellence and we might
be in the more daunger, and I lay the further off from them;
butt knew not where your excellence was, nor how to come
to you.

After much more discourse uppon this subject, captain
Parkes pressing it against Minnes, who answered well for
himselke, and showed, that he was the better seaman in this
action, and in most others, and in regard of the cause of
rejoycing which God had given them, and that they now
were neer the end of their voyage.

Whitelocke held it not so good to continue the expostu-
lation, as to part friends with captain Minnes and with all
his fellow seamen, and so they proceeded together lovingly
and friendly in their voyage.

The wind not blowing att all, butt being a high calme,
they could advance no further then the tyde would carry
them; the which fayled them, when they came to a place
called Shoe, about four leagues from the mouth of Thames.

1654. Having, through the goodnes of God, passed by and
 June 29. avoyded many bankes of sandes and daungerous places,
 the wind fayling them, and the tyde quite spent, they were
 forced, about seven a'clocke in the evening, to come to an
 anchor. Captain Minnes, hard by the President, where, to
 make some pastime and diversion, he caused many squibbes
 and fire-workes to be cast up into the aier from the Elizabeth,
 in which Minnes was very ingenious, and gave recreation
 therby to Whitelocke and to his company.

30. Friday, the last of this month, was the fifth and last day
 of Whitelocke's voyage by sea from the mouth of the Elbe,
 to the mouth of Thames. About twelve a'clocke the last
 night, the wind began to blowe very strong in the south
 west, and by day breake they had weighed anchor; and
 though the wind was extreame high, and a great tempest,
 yett such was their desire of getting into the harbour, that,
 taking the benefit of the tyde and by often tacking about, they
 yett advanced three leagues in their course; and when the
 tyde fayled, they were forced to cast anchor att the Buoy in
 the Nowre, the same place where Whitelocke first anchored
 when he came from England.

The pilots and marriners had much adoe to manage their
 sayles in this tempestuous weather; and it was a great favour
 of God that they were not out att sea in these stormes, butt
 returned in safety to the place where the kindnes of God
 had before appeared to them.

In the afternoon the wind began to fall, and they
 weighed anchor, putting themselves under sayle, and pur-
 suing their course, till, for want of day and of tyde, they
 were fayne to cast anchor a little above Gravesend; and it
 being very late, Whitelocke thought it would be too trouble-
 some

some to goe on shore: butt to keepe his people together, and 1654.
 that they might all be the readier to take the morning tyde, 
 he lay this night also on ship-board, butt sent Earle and some June 30.
 others that night to shore to learne the newes, and to provide boates against the morning for transportation of Whitelocke and his company the next day to London.

Thus after a long, most difficult, and most dangerous journey, negotiation, and voyage, from south to north in winter, and from north to south in summer; after the wonderfull preservations and deliverances which the Lord had bin pleased to vouchsafe to them; he was also pleased, in his free and constant goodnes to his servants, to bring them all in safety and with comfort agayne to their native countrey and dearest relations, and blest with the successe of their imployment, and with the wonderfull appearances of God for them.

May it be the blessed portion of them all never to forgett the loving kindnes of the Lord; butt by these cords of love to be drawne neerer to him, and to runne after him all the dayes of their lives!

To the end that those of his family may see what cause they have to trust in God and to prayse his name for his goodnes, Whitelocke hath thought fitt heerby in writing, and as a monument of God's mercy, to transmit the memory of these passages to his posterity.

JULY.

JULY.

1654.
July 1.

ABOUT three a'clocke this morning, good store of boates came from Gravesend to Whitelocke's ships, to transport him, his company, and goods to London: by the help of the mariners, without much delay, the baggage was putt on board the boates; and Whitelocke's people, after a perilous and tedious voyage, were not backward to leave their ships, and to set forwards for London.

Earle was sent before to Greenwich to acquaint Whitelocke's wife with his coming; lest sudden joy and apprehensions might surprize her to her prejudice.

Whitelocke having distributed his rewards to the officers and seamen of both the frigotts, much to the same proportion as when he went forth, and given them all his hearty thanks, he went into a boate of six oares, his two sons and some of the gentlemen with him, the rest in other boates; when they were gone about a muskett shott from the ships, both the frigotts and the fort fired their cannon for a parting salutation.

The weather was cold, wett, and windy, as if it had bin still winter, butt it was chearfully indured, being the conclusion of a bad voyage: neer Greenwich Earle mett them, and informed Whitelocke that his family was att Chelsey, whither he had sent advertisement of his comming.

Many of the company being much tyred, sick, and want-
 ing sleep, by their desire, and for their refreshment, he
 stayed a little time att the Beare on the Bridge foot, and from
 thence to Whitehall, where, not finding the protector, who
 was gone to Hampton Court, yett, many of his friends
 meeting him there, he was imbraced by them with much
 shew of joy, and heartily bid wellcome home, blessing God
 for his safe returne, and good successe in his buisnes.

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From Whitehall Whitelocke went to his own house att
 Chelsey, where he found his wife and family in good health;
 butt in no smalle passion, surprised with the great and sud-
 dein joy, which oft-times brings no lesse disturbance to the
 tempers of people, especially of the more tender and affec-
 tionate sexe, then other surprises doe: suddain feare, grieve,
 and joy, are often equall in their operation uppon constitu-
 tions and affections; nor was Whitelocke's wife alone in this
 surprize, another with her, att the returne of her husband,
 could not forbear in all that company, her extraordinary
 expressions of joy att the happy meeting of her own most
 neer relation.

From the time of Whitelocke's departure from hence, to
 his entry into Upsale, Whitelocke spent forty-seven dayes;
 five moneths he stayed there, and in his returne from Upsale
 to this place, cost him forty-three dayes: and, in all these eight
 moneths time of his absence from his deare relations and
 countrey, the Lord was pleased so to owne him and his, and
 so gratiouly to preserve and prosper them, that himselfe and
 a hundred persons in his company, after so long a journey,
 so great a change of climate and accommodations, such hard-
 ships indured, such daungers surmounted through his good-
 nes, the buisnes effected beyond the expectation of those who
 imployed him; Whitelocke and all his company were,
 through

1654. through mercy, returned to their countrey and relations, in
 as good condition and health as when they went forth; not
 one of them left behind dead or sicke, or impayred in their
 health, butt some improved and bettered therin. Only Whitelocke, being antient, will have cause to remember the decay of his strength and health by the hardships and difficulties of this service; butt more cause hath he to remember the wonderfull goodnes of God to him and his company abroad, and to his wife and family att home, in his blessing and preservation of them, and in the comfort and safety of their meeting, after so long and perilous a separation, for which, he is obliged to prayse the name of God for ever.

After ceremonies past att his comming to his own house, Whitelocke sent captain Beake to Hampton Court, to acquaint the protector with his returne, to present his duety, and to receive his commaunds when Whitelocke should waite uppon his highnes, to kisse his hand, and to give him an account of his negotiation.

Beake returned this evening from Hampton Court to Whitelocke, with this answer; that the protector expressed much joy att the newes of the safe arrivall of Whitelocke and of his company in England; that he looked uppon it as a mercy, and blest God for it, and that he much desired to see Whitelocke; and hoped, on Monday next att Whitehall, to have his company, who should be very wellcome to him.

A little while after this message returned, there came two of the protector's gentlemen, sent by him to Chelsey, in his name, to visit Whitelocke, and to bid him wellcome home, to inquire of his health, and to testify the contentment the

protector received by Whitelocke's happy returne home, and that he hoped on Monday next to see him.

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Whitelocke desired the gentlemen to present his humble thanks to the protector for this great favour, to inquire after so meane a servant, who hoped to have the honor to waite uppon his highnes att the time appointed by him.

The *Lord's day*. Whitelocke began to injoy some more privacy and retirement then he had bin lately accustomed unto, and was at the publique church with his wife and family, and courteously saluted and bid wellcome home by many.

2.

In the evening, the protector sent another complement to Whitelocke by Mr. Strickland, one of his councell, who came to Whitelocke's house and told him, that he was sent by the protector to salute him, and to inquire of his health after his long and dangerous voyage, and to assure him of the great joy his highnes received by Whitelocke's safe arrivall in England, and the desire he had to see him, and personally to intertain him. Whitelocke desired his most humble thanks might be returned to his highnes for this great favour, giving him the opportunity of seeing so honorable a person as Strickland was, and for taking such care of so poor a servant as Whitelocke, and to lett his highnes know, that he should obey his highnes's commaunds in waiting on him the next day as he appointed.

Whitelocke came to Whitehall about nine a'clock this morning, where he visited Mr. Secretary Thurloe, who brought him to the protector; and he received Whitelocke with great demonstration of affection, and carryed him into

3.

1654. his cabbinet, where they were together about an hower, and
 had this among other discourfes.
 July 3.

Pro. How have you injoyed your health in your long journey, both by sea and land ; and how could you indure those hardships you were putt unto in that barren and cold countrey ?

Wh. Indeed, Sir, I have indured many hardships, for an old crazy carcas as mine is ; butt God was pleased to shew much mercy to me, in my support under them, and vouchsafing me competent health and strength to indure them.

Pro. I have heard of your quarters and lodging in strawe, and of your diett in your journey : we were not so hardly nor so often putt to it in our service in the army.

Wh. Both my company and myselfe did cheerfully indure all our hardships and wants, being in the service of our God and of our countrey.

Pro. That was also our support in our hardships in the army ; and it is the best support ; indeed it is ; and you found it so in the very great preservacions you have had from daungers.

Wh. Your highnes hath had great experience of the goodnes of God to you ; and the same hand hath appeared wonderfully in the preservation of my company and myselfe from many imminent and great daungers both by sea and land.

Pro. The greatest of all other, I heare, was in your retorne home uppon our coast.

Wh.

Wh. That, indeed, Sir, was very miraculous.

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Pro. I am glad to see you safe and well after it.

Wh. I have cause to blesse God with all thankfullnes for it, as long as I live.

Pro. I pray, my lord, tell me the perticulars of that great deliverance.

Theruppon Whitelocke gave a perticular account of the passages of that wonderfull preservation: then the protector said.

Pro. Really these passages are full of wonder and mercy; and I have cause to joyne with you in acknowledgement of the goodnes of the Lord heerin.

Wh. Your highnes testifies a true fence therof, and your favour to your servant.

Pro. I hope I shall never forget the one or the other; indeed I hope I shall not: butt, I pray, tell me, is the queen a lady of such rare parts as is reported of her?

Wh. Truly, Sir, she is a lady excellently qualified, of rare abilities of mind, perfect in many languages, and most sorts of learning, especially history, and, beyond compare with any person whom I have knowne, understanding the affayres and interest of all the states and princes of Christendome.

Pro. That is very much: butt what are her principles in matters of religion?

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July 3.

Wh. They are not such as I could wish they were ; they are too much inclined to the manner of that countrey, and to some perswasions from men not well inclined to those matters, who have had too much power with her.

Pro. That is a great deale of pittie ; indeed I have heard of some passages of her, not well relishing with those that feare God ; and this is too generall an evill among those people, who are not so well principled in matters of religion as were to be wished.

Wh. That is too true ; butt many sober men and good Christians among them doe hope, that in time there may be a reformation of those things ; and I tooke the boldnes to putt the queen and the present king in mind of the duety incumbent uppon them in that buisnes ; and this I did with becomming freedome, and it was well taken.

Pro. I thinke you did very well to informe them of that great duety, which now lyes uppon the king ; and did he give care to it ?

Wh. Yes, truely, Sir, and told me that he did acknowledge it to be his duety, which he resolved to pursue as opportunity could be had for it ; butt he said, it must be done by degrees with a boisterous people, so long accustomed to the contrary ; and the like answer I had from the archbishop of Upsale, and from the chancellor, when I spake to them uppon the same subject, which I did plainly.

Pro. I am glad you did so : is the archbishop a man of good abilities ?

Wh.

Wh. He is a very reverend person, learned, and seems
very pious.

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Pro. The chancellor is the great wise man.

Wh. He is the wisest man that ever I conversed with
abroad, and his abilities are fully answerable to the report
of him.

Pro. What character doe you give of the present king?

Wh. I had the honor divers times to be with his majesty,
who did that extraordinary honor to me as to visit me at my
house: he is a person of great worth, honor, and abilities,
and not inferior to any in courage and military conduct.

Pro. That was an exceeding high favour to come to yo
in person.

Wh. He never did the like to any publique minister;
butt this, and all other honor done to me, was butt to testify
their respects to your highnes, the which indeed was very
great, both there and where I past in Germany.

Pro. I am obliged to them for their very great civility.

Wh. Both the queen, and the king, and his brother, and
the archbishop, and the chancellor, and most of the gran-
dees, gave testimony of very great respect to your highnes,
and that not only by their words butt by their actions
likewise.

Pro. I shall be ready to acknowledge their respects uppon
any occasion.

1654. *Wh.* The like respects were testified to your highnes in Germany, especially by the town of Hambourgh; where I July 3. indeavoured, in your highnes's name, to confirme the priviledges of the english marchants, who, with your resident there, showed much kindnes to me and my company.

Pro. I shall heartily thanke them for it: is the court of Sweden gallant and full of resort to it?

Wh. They are extreame gallant for their cloathes; and for company, most of the nobility, and the civill and military officers, make their constant residence where the court is, and many repayre thither on all occasions.

Pro. Is their administration of justice speedy; and have they many law suits?

Wh. They have justice in a speedier way then with us, butt more arbitrary, and fewer causes, in regard that the boores dare not contend with their lords; and they have butt few contracts, bicause they have butt little trade; and there is smalle use of conveyances or questions of titles, bicause the law distributes every man's estate after his death among his children, which they cannot alter, and therefore have the fewer contentions.

Pro. That is like our gavelkind.

Wh. It is the same thing; and in many perticulars of our lawes, in cases of private right, and of the publique government (especially in their parlements), there is a strange resemblance between their law and ours.

Pro.

Pro. Perhaps ours might, some of them, be brought from thence. 1654.

July 3.

Wh. Doubtles they were, when the Goths and Saxons, and those northerne people, planted themselves heer.

Pro. You met with a barren countrey, and very colde.

Wh. The remoter parts of it from the court are extreame barren; butt att Stockholme and Ubsale, and most of the great townes, they have store of provifions: butt fatt beeefe and mutton in the winter time is not so plentifull with them, as in the cuntryes more souterly; and their hott weather in summer as much exceeds ours, as their cold doth in winter.

Pro. That is somewhat troublesome to indure; butt how could you passe over their very long winter nights?

Wh. I kept my people together and in action and recreation, by having musick in my house, and incouraging that and the exercise of dauncing, which held them by the ears and eyes, and gave them diversion without any offence. And I caused the gentlemen to have disputations in latin, and declamations uppon words which I gave them.

Pro. Those were very good diversions, and made your house a little academy.

Wh. I thought these recreations better then gaming for money, or going forth to places of debauchery.

Pro. It was much better; and I am glad you had so good an issue of your treaty.

Wh.

1654. *Wh.* I blesse God for it, and shall be ready to give your
 {
 July 3. highnes a perticular account of it, when you shall appoint
 a time for it.

Pro. I thinke that Thursday next, in the morning, will be a good time for you to come to the councell, and to make your report of the tranfactions of your negotiation; and you and I must have many discourses uppon these arguments.

Wh. I shall attend your highnes and the councell.

4. This day was spent in visits, very much company resorting to Whitelocke's house to bid him wellcome into England, so that, by the multitude of company, he had not any opportunity of recollecting himselfe and his thoughts touching the matters which he was to communicate to the councell the next day; butt it could not be avoyded, and he must take such time as would be afforded him.

5. By Whitelocke's appointment, all his company, who were with him in Sweden, came this day to his house att Chelsey, where divers others of his good friends mett them, to the intent they might all joyne together in returning humble and hearty thanks to God, for his great mercy and goodnes to them, in their preservation and wonderfull deliverances in their voyage, in blessing them with health, and with success in their buisnes, and bringing all of them in safety and comfort to their native countrey and most deare relations.

Being for this end mett together in a large roome, prepared for them, they began the duety; and, first, Mr. Peters acquainted them with the occasion of the meeting, recommending all to the direction and assistance of the Lord.

He

He spake to them, uppon the psalme, pertinent to the 1654.
 occasion, and to the mention of their voyage, hardships, ^{July 5.}
 daungers, and difficulties, wherin God had delivered them;
 and what sence these things ought to worke uppon their
 hearts, and what thankfulnes they ought to returne to God
 for his mercyes.

After a psalme sung, Mr. Ingelo, one of Whitelocke's
 chapleins, prayed with them, and then amplyfied the
 favours and deliverances which God had wrought for them,
 the great difficulties and daungers wherin he had preserved
 them, and their unworthynes of any mercy: he exhorted
 them to all gratitude to the Author of their mercyes; in all
 which he expressed himselfe with much piety, ingenuity,
 and with great affection.

Mr. George Downing, who had bin a chaplein to a re-
 giment in the army, expounded a place of scripture very
 fuitable to the occasion, and very ingeniously and pertinently.

After him, Mr. Stapleton prayed very well, and spake
 pertinently and feelingly to the rest of the company, his
 fellow travaylers: then they sung another psalme; and,
 after that, Mr. Cokaine spake very well and piously, and
 gave good exhortations on the same subject.

When all these gentlemen had ended their discourfes pro-
 per for the occasion, Whitelocke himselfe spake to the com-
 pany to this effect.

“ Gentlemen,

“ You have heard, from our worthy christian friends,
 “ many words of pretious trueth, with which, I hope all
 Vol. II. D d d “ our

1654. " our souls are refreshed, and doe pray, that our practice
 July 5. " may be conformed.

" The duety of this day, and of every person, is *gratiarum actio* : I wish we may all act thankfullnes to our
 " God, wherunto we are all obliged who have received so
 " great benefits from him.

" In a more peculiar manner then others, I hold myselſe
 " obliged to render thanks ;

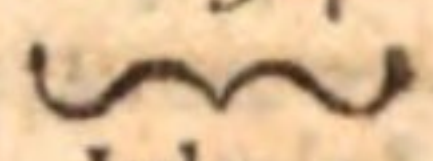
" 1. To our God, who hath preserved us all, and brought
 " us in safety and comfort to our deare countrey and re-
 " lations.

" 2. To our christian friends, from whom we have re-
 " ceived ſuch powerfull instructions this day, and prayers
 " all the dayes of our abſence.

" 3. To you, gentlemen, who have ſhowed ſo much
 " affection and reſpect, in bearing me company, in a journey
 " ſo full of hardſhips and daungers.

" I am of the opinion of the Roman ſoldier, who told
 " Cæſar, I have in my own perſon fought for thee, and,
 " therefore, that the emperor ought in his own perſon to
 " plead for the ſoldier ; which he did ; and have in your
 " own perſon indured all the hardſhips, difficulties, and
 " daungers with me : and were I as able as Cæſar, I hold
 " myſelſe as much obliged in my own perſon to ſerve you,
 " and to the uttmoſt of my capacity ſhall doe all good
 " offices for any of you, who have, with ſo much affection,
 " reſpect, and hazard, adventured your perſons with me.

" I am

“ I am obliged, and doe returne my hearty thankes, to 1654
 “ our worthy friends, who have so excellently performed 
 “ the worke of the day, and shall pray, that it may be July 5
 “ powerfull, uppon every one of our hearts, to build us up
 “ in the knowledge of this duety; and I should be glad to
 “ promise, in the name of all my company, that we shall
 “ give a ready and constant observance of those pious in-
 “ structions we have received from you.

“ Some heer have bin actors with us in our story, have
 “ gone downe to the sea in ships, and done buisnes in great
 “ waters; have seen the workes of God, and his wonders
 “ in the deep; his commaunding and rayfing the stormy
 “ wind, lifting up the waves therof, which mount up to
 “ the heavens, and goe downe againe to the deep, whose
 “ souls have melted bicause of trouble, and have bin att
 “ their witts end; then have cryed unto the Lord in their
 “ distresse, and he hath brought them out of trouble: we
 “ have seen him make the storme a calme, and the waves
 “ therof still; then were we glad, and he brought us to our
 “ desired harbour.

“ O that we would prayse the Lord for his goodnes, for
 “ his wonderfull workes! Lett us exalt him in the congre-
 “ gation of the people, and prayse him in the assembly of
 “ the elders.

“ These my companions, who have bin actors, and
 “ others, I hope, will give me leave to make them auditors
 “ of some speciall providences of the Lord, wherein we
 “ may all reape benefit from the relation.

“ The Apostle saith, 2 Pet. i. *Wherefore I will not be*
 “ *negligent, to putt you alwayes in remembrance of these*
 D d d 2 “ *things,*

1654. " things, though you know them, and be established in the
 July 5. " present trueth.

" To all I may say, with the wise man, Prov. viii. *Heare,*
 " for I will speake of excellent things, free mercyes, great
 " deliverances, wonderfull preservations: excellent things
 " to those who were sharers of them in action, and for the
 " contemplation of those who are hearers of them; therefore
 " I may shortly recite some of the most eminent of them.

" In the first day of our voyage, with a fayre wind, att
 " night it changed, and we were stopt, till comfortable
 " letters came to me, which otherwise could not have come,
 " and were no sooner answered, butt the wind came fayre
 " agayne.

" When we toyled in the open sea with crosse winds
 " and tempests, driven neer to our own coast back agayne,
 " God sent us then fayre weather, and a good gale for our
 " voyage.

" How was he pleased to bring us so very neer great
 " daunger on the Riffe, and then bring us safe off from it,
 " and hold on our course agayne!

" When we were in no smalle daunger in the tempestuous
 " seas, on the backe of the Skawe, when the anchors
 " dragged a league in one night with the storme, and every
 " moment we expected to be devoured by the raging waves,
 " there the Lord was also our deliverer; as he also was upon
 " the rocky coast of Norway, and in the difficulte pas-
 " sage to the harbour of Gothenbergh. Throughout our
 " voyage, the providence of God watched over us, and
 " protected us.

" Thus

“ Thus did he in our land journey, where the extreame 1654.
 “ hardships we were putt unto are sufficiently knowne to all ^{July 5.}
 “ of us, and will to our life's end be felt by some of us.

“ My perticular preservation was wonderfull from an in-
 “ tended affassination by one, who thrust himselfe into my
 “ company to have the better opportunity to execute it;
 “ butt, overcome with kindnes, his heart relented, and he
 “ forsooke his purpose and my company.

“ If the snow had fallen (as in other years) in the time
 “ of our travayle, we could not have passed our journey;
 “ butt he, who rules the heavens and the earth, restrained it,
 “ till we came within halfe a day of our journey's end, and
 “ in safety he conducted us to Upsale.

“ The same providence kept us there, and, when some of
 “ our company were sick and hurt, restored health againe.

“ It was marvailous and unexpected, that, in a forein
 “ countrey, att such a distance from friends and acquaint-
 “ ance, God should rayse us up friends out of strangers,
 “ namely, the queen, forein ministers, and great officers; in
 “ whose sight we found wonderfull favour, to our prefer-
 “ vation under God, and a great means of effecting what we
 “ came about, maugre the labours and designs of our
 “ enemies against it, and their plotts and attempts for our
 “ destruction, had not our rock of defence secured us.

“ I should detain you very long, though I hope it would
 “ not be thought too long, to recite all our remarkable
 “ mercyes; and it is an excellent thing that they are so
 “ numerous. We are now comming homewards. How did
 “ our God preserve us, over the Baltick sea, from innu-
 “ merable

1654. " merable daungers of the rockes, sandes, coasts, islands,
 July 5. " fierce lightnings, stormes, and those high swelling
 " waters!

" Such was our preservation, in the Elbe, when our
 " countrymen leaped into the water, to bring us off from
 " daunger, and when the tempests hurried us up and
 " downe, by Halygo island, then towards Holland, then to
 " the northward, then to the southward, in the open break-
 " ing rough seas, when we had lost our course, and knew
 " not where we were,

" Above all other, was that most eminent deliverance neer
 " our own coast, when our ship was stucke uppon the sande
 " twelve leagues from any shoare, when no helpe nor
 " humane means were left to save us, when pale death
 " faced us so long together, when no hopes remained to
 " escape his fury or the rage of the waves, which we ex-
 " pected every instant to swallow us; even then, to show
 " where our dependance ought to be, our God would make
 " it his owne worke to deliver us: he it was that rayfed
 " the wind, and brought it from the higher part of the banke
 " to shake our fastened ship and crumble the loose sandes;
 " and no sooner had we taken a resolution of praying and
 " resigning our souls to God, butt he gave us our lives
 " agayne, moving our ship by his powerful arme, making
 " it to floate againe, none knowing how or by what means,
 " butt by the free act of his mercy, and not a returne of
 " ours, butt of the prayers of some heer present, and di-
 " vers others our christian friends, who, att that very time,
 " were mett together to seek the Lord for us; and for our
 " safe returne.

" Methinks

“ Methinks the hearts of us, who were partakers of these 1654.
 “ mercyes, should rejoyce in the repetition of them; and ^{July 5.}
 “ those, that heare them, cannot butt say they heare ex-
 “ cellent things; and certainly never had any men more
 “ cause, then we have, of returning humble and hearty
 “ thanks to God, who hath thus saved us.

“ And, having received these mercyes, and bin delivered
 “ out of these distresses, I may say to you, as Jacob sayd to
 “ his household, Gen. xxxv. *Lett us arise and go to Bethel; lett*
 “ *us serve God and prayse his name, who answered us in*
 “ *the day of our distresse, and was with us in the way which*
 “ *we went.*

“ Lett us also keep Jacob's vow; the Lord hath bin with
 “ us, and kept us in our way, and brought us againe to
 “ our father's house in peace; lett the Lord be our God.

“ Lett not any of our former vanities or lusts, or love
 “ of the world, be any more our God; butt lett the Lord be
 “ our God, lett our thanksgiving appear in owning the Lord
 “ for our God, and in walking answerable to our mercyes;
 “ lett our prayers be according to the councill of the
 “ Apostle, Eph. v. *See then that you walke circumspectly,*
 “ *giving thanks alwayes for all things: how much more*
 “ *are we bound to doe it from our speciall mercyes!*

“ Gentlemen, give me leave to conclude with my per-
 “ ticular thanks to you, who accompanied me in my
 “ journey, and have manifested very much respect, care,
 “ diligence, courage, and discretion. You have, by your
 “ demeanour, done honor to our profession of religion, to
 “ our countrey, to yourselves, to your ambassador; who
 “ will be ready to testify the same on all occasions, and to
 “ do

1654. "do you all good offices, chiefly in bearing you company
 to returne prayfes to our God, whose mercyes indure
 July 5. "for ever."

After these exercises performed, wherein Whitelooke was the more large in manifesting the abounding of his sense of the goodnes of God towards him, and was willing also to recollect his thoughts for another occasion, the company retired themselves; and Whitelooke complimented his particular friends, giving them many thanks, who had showed kindnes to his wife and family, and had taken care of his affayres in his absence.

He bid them all wellcome, and desired them to accompany him the next day to his audience before the protector and councell; then he ledde them into a great roome, where the table was spread, and all things in the same state and manner as he used to have them in Sweden; that his friends might see the fashion of his being served when he was in that condition, and as his farwell to those pompes and vanities.

The trumpetts founding, meate was brought in, and the mistris of the house made it appeare, that England had as good and as much plenty of provisions as Sweden, Denmarke, or Germany.

His friends and company fate downe to meate as they used to doe in Sweden; the attendants, pages, lacquays, and others, in their liveryes, did their service as they were accustomed abroad.

Their discourse was full of chearfulness, and recounting of God's goodnes; and both the time of the meate, and
 the

the afternoone, was spent in rejoycing together for the pre-^{1654.}
sent mercy, and for the whole series of God's goodnes to ^{July 5.}
them; and in the evening they parted, every one to his
own quarters.

Whitelocke went in the morning early to Whitehall. Att 6.
secretary Thurloe's lodging he found most of his company,
the gentlemen in their habits, the others in their liveries, and
in a short time they were all come together to attend their
ambassador to his last audience, who was putt to the pa-
tience of staying an hower and a halfe att master Secretary's
lodging, before he was called in to his highnes; then, being
sent for, he went attended in the same manner as he used to
goe to his audiences in Sweden.

Being come to the outward roome, he was presently
brought in to the councill chamber, where the protector
sate in his great chayre, att the upper end of the table,
covered, and his councill sate bare on each side of the
table. After ceremonies performed by Whitelocke, and
great respect showed him by the Protector and his councill
Whitelocke spake to this effect.

“ May it please your highnes,

“ I attend, by your commaund, to give an account of
“ the discharge of that great trust and weighty burden,
“ which (through the assistance of God) I have undergone
“ in my imployment to Sweden, and with the successe of that
“ negotiation; wherein I shall not waste much of your time, for
“ which you have other great affayres; butt, in as few
“ words as I can, I shall, with cleernes and trueth, ac-
“ quaint your highnes and your honorable councill with
“ those matters, which I apprehend most fitt and worthy of
“ your knowledge.

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E e e

“ After

1654.

July 6.

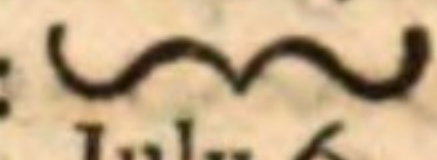
“ After the receipt of my commission and instructions,
 “ from the parlement then sitting, to goe ambassador to
 “ Sweden, I neglected no time, how unseasonable soever,
 “ to transport myselfe to that countrey : uppon the fifth of
 “ November I imbarqued att the Hope, and, after ten dayes
 “ voyage, through many stormes, enemies, and daungers,
 “ it pleased God, on the 15th of November, to bring me
 “ in safety, with all my company, into the port of
 “ Gothenbergh.

“ The next day, I dispatched two of my servants to the
 “ court, with letters to prince Adolphe, the grand master,
 “ and to the ricks chancellor of Sweden, to advertise them
 “ of my arrivall, and to desire their advice, whither to
 “ direct my journey to attend the queen.

“ In this citty I received many civilities and testimonies
 “ of respect to your highnes, and this common-wealth, from
 “ the magistrates, officers, and others there ; and a smalle
 “ contest I had with a Dutchman, a vice admirall of her
 “ majesty's, about our warre with his countreymen, and
 “ about some prizes brought in by me ; wherin I tooke the
 “ liberty to justify the proceedings of this state, and order-
 “ ed, uppon submission, the release of a smalle dutch prize
 “ taken by me.

“ Having refreshed myselfe and company some dayes, I
 “ began my land journey the last day of November : the
 “ military officers accompanied me out of towne, the
 “ cittizens and guarryson foldiers stood to their armes, and,
 “ with many vollies of great and smalle shot (the bulletts
 “ passing somewhat too neer complements) they gave me an
 “ honorable farwell.

“ In

“ In our journey we mett with extreame hardships, both 1654.
 “ in the weather, and in want of necessary accomodations: 
 “ the greater townes, where we quartered, showed much re- July 6.
 “ spect to your highnes and this common-wealth; only in
 “ one town a little affront was given in words by a prætor,
 “ who acknowledged his fault, and it appeared to proceed
 “ more from drinke then judgement.

“ In all places the officers tooke great care, with what
 “ the countrey would afford, to furnish what I wanted; the
 “ wayes were prepayred, waggons and horses brought in,
 “ and all things requisite were done by the countrey,
 “ uppon commaund of her majesty.

“ After twenty one dayes in our land journey, neer 400
 “ miles from Gothenbergh, up into the countrey, in that
 “ climate in December, it pleased God through all our dif-
 “ ficulties to bring us safe to Upsale the 20th of December.

“ About halfe a league from the town, the master of the
 “ ceremonies, and after him two senators, with two coaches
 “ of the queen's, and those of the spanish resident, and of
 “ divers grandees, mett me, and, with more than ordinary
 “ ceremoney, conducted me to a house in the towne, by
 “ the queen's order taken up and furnisht for me.

“ Divers complements passed from the queen herselfe,
 “ and many of her court, expressing much respect to your
 “ highnes and this common-wealth, in the person of your
 “ servant.

“ By favour I obtained my first audience from the queen
 “ the 23d of December, the particular passages wherof (as
 “ of most other matters which I have to mention) were in

1654. " my letters imparted, as they arose, to Mr. Secretary
 ~~~~~  
 July 6. " Thurloe, and by him (I presume) to your highnes and  
 " the councell.

" Two or three dayes after this, I procured a private au-  
 " dience from her majesty, when I shewed her my com-  
 " mission, and tooke time to waite on her with my proposalls.

" The spanish resident, Don Piementele, now in this  
 " court, expressed high respects for your highnes and this  
 " common-wealth, and perticular affection to me ; and I,  
 " knowing his great favour with the queen, and his own  
 " worth, contracted an intimacy of friendship with him ; as  
 " I had also with Monsieur Woolfeldt, the king of Den-  
 " marke's brother-in-lawe, with feldt marshall Wrangell,  
 " Grave Tott, the queen's favorite, and with divers senators  
 " and great men, butt especially with the old chancellor.

" I found very usefull, for your highnes's service there,  
 " Monsieur Lagerfeldt, secretary Canterstein, Monsieur  
 " Ravius, and others ; and I had good assistance from my  
 " countrymen, generall major Fleetwood, a true friend to  
 " England, my lord Douglas, collonell Hamilton, and  
 " others. And having now given your highnes some ac-  
 " count of persons, I come to the matter of my negotiation,  
 " which I layd the best I could.

" By advice, I made my applications to the queen her-  
 " selfe, and, as much as I could, putt the buisnes uppon her  
 " personall determination, which she liked, and it proved  
 " advantageous.

" I presented to her att once all my articles, except three  
 " reserved. The articles proposed a league offensive and de-  
 " fensive ;



“ fensive ; wheruppon she objected the unfettlednes of our 1654.  
 “ common-wealth, the present peace of her kingdomes, <sup>July 6.</sup>  
 “ and our being involved in a warre : to which I answered,  
 “ that her kingdomes could not long continue in peace,  
 “ and would have as much need of our assistance as we of  
 “ theirs ; and our warre, and successes against Holland,  
 “ were arguments that our friendship merited acceptance,  
 “ that I hoped our common-wealth was settled, and that  
 “ leagues were between nations, not governments.

“ This debate was very large with her majesty, who  
 “ seemed satisfied with my answers, and appointed her  
 “ chancellor to treat with me ; who much more insisted  
 “ upon the unfettlednes of our common-wealth, and upon  
 “ the same objections which the queen had made, and re-  
 “ ceived from me the same answers ; which proved the  
 “ more satisfactory after the newes of your highnes’s ac-  
 “ cession to the government, which made this treaty pro-  
 “ ceed more freely.

“ I had often, and long, disputes with the chancellor upon  
 “ the article touching english rebels being harboured in  
 “ Sweden, most of all touching contreband goods, and  
 “ about reparation of the losses of the Swedes by prizes  
 “ taken from them, in our dutch warre, by us, besides  
 “ many other objections, wherof I have given a former  
 “ account by letters.

“ The chancellor being sicke, his son Grave Eric was  
 “ commissioned to treat with me in his father’s stead,  
 “ and was much more averse to my business, and more  
 “ earnest upon the objections then the old man, who,  
 “ being recovered, I found more moderate ; yett we could  
 “ not



1654. " not agree one way or other ; and when I prest for a con-  
 ~~~~~  
 July 6. " clusion, both the queen and her chancellor did ingeni-
 " ously acknowledge, that they desired first to see whether
 " the peace would be made between us and Holland, before
 " they came to a determination uppon my treaty, wherein
 " I could not butt apprehend reason : and when the newes
 " came, that the peace between your highnes and the Dutch
 " was concluded, I urged a conclusion of my treaty ; and
 " what the chancellor and I differed in, the queen was
 " pleased to reconcile, and so we came to the full agree-
 " ment contained in this instrument, signed and sealed by
 " the queen's commissioners, which I humbly present to
 " your highnes and this honorable board ; and which, I
 " hope, through the goodnes of God, may be of advan-
 " tage to this common-wealth, and to the protestant in-
 " terest."

Heer Whitelocke, making a little pause, delivered into the protector's hand the instrument of his treaty, fayrely written in latin, in a booke of velome, with the hands and seals to it of the ricks chancellor and his son Grave Eric ; which, being done, Whitelocke went on in his speech.

" I cannot butt acknowledge the great goodnes of God
 " to me in this imployment, in my preservation from at-
 " tempts against my person, raysing me up such eminent
 " friends, giving me so much favour in the eyes of strangers,
 " inclining the queen's heart to an extraordinary affection
 " and favour towards me, and giving this good successe to
 " my buisnes, notwithstanding the designes and labours of
 " many enemies to the contrary.

" The treaty with me being thus finished, the buisnes
 " came on of the queen's resignation of the crown, wher-
 " in

“ in she was pleased to expresse a great confidence in a 654.
 “ stranger, by imparting it to me many weeks before, ^{July 6.}
 “ wherof I tooke the boldnes to certefy your highnes.

“ The prince, who was to succeed the queen, was sent
 “ for to Upsale, and their ricksdagh or parlement was to
 “ meet there in the beginning of May. Your highnes will
 “ not expect many arguments of your servant's longing de-
 “ fires of returning, when he had advice that your friggotts
 “ sent for him were in the Elbe; yett, judging it might
 “ conduce to your service to salute the prince, I stayed till
 “ his entry (which was in great state) into Upsale, where I
 “ saluted him from your highnes, and acquainted him with
 “ my negotiation, which he well approved; and, to testify
 “ his great respect to your highnes and this common-wealth,
 “ he came in person to visit me att my house, and used me
 “ with so much extraordinary favour and ceremony, that
 “ never the like had bin done before to any ambassador.
 “ We had severall conferences att large, much discourse of
 “ your highnes, and of this common-wealth, with the per-
 “ ticulars wherof I shall acquaint you att your better
 “ leisure.

“ The time of the queen's resignation being neer, I
 “ thought it not convenient for me to be then uppon the
 “ place, butt removed to Stockholme; where I was when
 “ the resignation and new coronation were solemnized att
 “ Upsale.

“ The magistrates of Stockholme expressed good respect
 “ to your highnes and this common-wealth.

“ From hence I imbarqued the first of June, in a good
 “ ship of the queen's, to crosse the Baltique sea. She sent
 “ one

1654. “ one of her vice admiralls, Clerke, to attend me ; and,
 July 6. “ after a daungerous voyage, and bad weather, the Lord
 “ gave us a safe arrivall att Lubec, on the 7th of June : the
 “ magistrates, by their syndick, heer bid me wellcome,
 “ and exprest some respect, and made some requests by
 “ me, to your highnes.

“ From Lubec I travayled over Holtstein and Lunen-
 “ bergh, and came the 10th of June to Hambourgh ; where
 “ I was also very civilly saluted by some of the magistrates
 “ and syndick ; and most of the lords came afterwards to
 “ me, and testified extraordinary respect and service to
 “ your highnes and this common-wealth.

“ My countrymen, the company of marchant adven-
 “ turers there, showed very much kindnes to me, and I
 “ indeavoured to doe them service to the lords of the town,
 “ making use of your highnes’s name therin.

“ I departed from Hambourgh the 17th of June ; Mr.
 “ Bradeshaw, your highnes’s worthy resident there, and
 “ others of my countrymen, showing much kindnes to
 “ me, both whilest I was there, and att my departure
 “ from this citty.

“ I imbarqued in your highnes’s frigott, neer Gluckstadt,
 “ butt was detained for some dayes in the Elbe by crosse
 “ winds, and in some daunger, butt, in more when we came
 “ into the open sea ; butt, above all, the Lord was pleased
 “ to appear for us on the 28th day of June, when our ship
 “ stucke uppon the sandes, above twelve leagues off from
 “ the coast of Yarmouth : and when there was no means
 “ or help of men for our escape, butt we expected every
 “ moment to be drowned by the waves ; then it pleased
 “ God

“ God to show his power and free mercy, by his own hand, 1654.
 “ to deliver us ; and, after two howers expectation of death, ^{July 6.}
 “ to reprieve us, to sett our ship on floate agayne, and to
 “ bring us all in health and safety to your highnes’s pre-
 “ sence, and to our deare countrey and relations.

“ The queen and the new king were pleased to honor me
 “ with jewells of their pictures, and a guift of copper, &
 “ having bestowed my horses (of more worth) on them
 “ and whom they appointed, and which I refused to sell,
 “ as a thing uncomely for my condition in your highnes’s
 “ service.

“ Thus, Sir, I have given you a clear and full account
 “ of my transactions ; and, as I may justify my own dili-
 “ gence and faithfulness therein, so I cannot butt condemne
 “ my many weakneses and faylings ; of which I can only
 “ say, that they were not willfull, and make an humble
 “ demaund to your highnes and this honorable councell,
 “ that I may obtaine your pardon.”

When Whitelocke had ended his speech, and a little pause made, the protector, pulling off his hatt, and presently putting it on againe, desired Whitelocke to withdrawe, which he did ; and, within a quarter of an hower, was called in agayne. The protector, using the same ceremony as before, spake to him to this effect :

“ My lord,

“ The councell and myselfe have heard the report of
 “ your journey and negotiation with much contentment
 “ and satisfaction, and both we and you have cause to
 “ bleffe God for your returne home, with safety, honor,

1654. " and good successe, in the great trust committed to you ;
 July 6. " wherein this testimony is due to you, that you have dis-
 " charged your trust with faithfullnes, diligence, and pru-
 " dence, as appears by the account you have given us, and
 " the issue of the buisnes.

" Truly, when persons, to whom God hath given so
 " good abilities as he hath done to you, shall putt them
 " forth, as you have done, for his glory, and for the good
 " of his people, they may expect a blessing from him, as
 " you have received in an ample measure.

" An acknowledgment is also due to them from their
 " countrey, who have served their countrey faithfully and
 " successefully as you have done : I can assure your lord-
 " ship, it is in my heart, really it is, and, I thinke, in the
 " hearts of all heer, that your services in this imployment
 " may turne to an account of advantage to you and yours ;
 " and it is just and honorable that it should be so.

" The Lord hath showed extraordinary mercy to you,
 " and to your company, in the great deliverances which
 " he hath vouchsafed to you ; and especially in that eminent
 " one, which you have related to us, when you were come
 " neer your own countrey, and the injoyment of the com-
 " forts of your safe returne : it was indeed a great testi-
 " mony of God's goodnes to you all, a very signall mercy,
 " and such a one as ought to rayse up your hearts, and our
 " hearts, in thankfullnes to God, who hath bestowed this
 " mercy on you ; and it is a mercy also to us, as well as to
 " you, though yours more personally, who were thus saved
 " and delivered by the speciall hand of Providence.

“ The goodnes of God to you was also seen in the sup- 1654.
 “ port of you, under those hardships and daungers which July 6.
 “ you have undergone in this service; lett it be your com-
 “ fort, that your service was for God, and for his people,
 “ and for your countrey: and now that you have, through
 “ his goodness, past them over, and he hath given you a safe
 “ returne unto your countrey, the remembrance of those
 “ things will be pleasant to you, and an obligation for an
 “ honorable recompence of your services, performed under
 “ all those hardships and daungers.

“ For the treaty, which you have presented to us, signed
 “ and sealed by the queen’s commissioners, I presume, it is
 “ according to what you formerly gave advice to us from
 “ Sweden; we shall take time to peruse it; and the councill
 “ have appointed a committee to looke into it, together
 “ with your instructions, and such other papers and things
 “ as you have further to offer to them: and I may say it,
 “ that this treaty hath the appearance of much good, not
 “ only to England, butt to the protestant interest through-
 “ out Christendome; and I hope it will be found so, and your
 “ service therby have its due esteem and regard, being so
 “ much for publique good, and so discreetly and successe
 “ fully managed by you.

“ My lord, I shall detaine you no longer, butt to tell
 “ you, that you are heartily wellcome home; that we are
 “ very sensible of your good service, and shall be ready on
 “ all occasions to make a reall acknowledgement therof to
 “ you.”

When the protector had done speaking, Whitelocke with-
 drew into the outward roome; whither Mr. Scobell, clerke
 of the councill, came to him with a message from the pro-

1654. tector, that Whitelocke would cause those of his retinue, then
 ~~~~~  
 July 6. present, to goe into the protector and councill, which they  
 did; and the protector spake to them with great courtesy and  
 favour, bidding them wellcome home, blessing God for their  
 safe returne to their friends and native countrey, and for the  
 great deliverances which he had wrought for them: he com-  
 mended their care of Whitelocke and their good deportment,  
 by which they had testified much courage and civility, and  
 had done honor to religion, and to their countrey; he gave  
 them thanks for it, and assurance of his affection to them  
 when any occasion should be offered for their good or pre-  
 ferment.

They withdrew full of hopes, every one of them, to be  
 made great men; butt few of them attained any favour,  
 though Whitelocke sollicitated for divers of them who were  
 very worthy of it.

This audience being ended, and with it Whitelocke's  
 commission, he willingly parted with his company and great-  
 nes, and contentedly retired himselfe, with his wife and  
 children in his private family.

After his returne from the councill, Whitelocke dismiss  
 his company, and went to those gentlemen, whom he had  
 desired to act as a committee for him before his going out  
 of England: these he desired to examine the state of his  
 accounts with his officers, to satisfy what remained due to  
 any, and to make up his account to be given in to-morrow  
 to the councill's committee.

7. According to the appointment of the protector and coun-  
 cell, signified to him by a letter from Mr. Jessop, clerk of  
 the



the councell, Whitelocke repayred to Whitehall, to the lord <sup>1654.</sup>  
viscount L'Isle and collonell Nathaniell Fiennes, the com-  
mittee of the councell, appointed to peruse and examine <sup>July 7.</sup>  
his proceedings: to them he produced his commission, or-  
ders, credentialls, and instructions; and all was sifted into,  
by virtue wherof he acted throughout by his whole  
ambassy.

He deduced his negotiation from the beginning of his  
treaty to the conclusion of it, with all the reasons and  
circumstances of his transactions.

They tooke cognisance of all, narrowly searched into  
and examined every thing, comparing all perticular passages  
and actions with the rules and instructions given him; and,  
uppon the whole matter, they acknowledged, that White-  
locke had given them full satisfaction in every point, and  
all his proceedings were by them, and uppon their report to  
the protector and councell afterwards, fully approved and  
commended by them.

Whitelocke agayne solicited the committee of the councell, 8.  
that his accounts might be examined and stated, and order  
given for the payment of what remained due to him, which  
he had expended out of his own purse in their service, and  
was reasonable for him to expect a reimbursement of it.

The committee were pleased to take great paynes in per-  
using and examining his papers, bookes, and accounts, not  
omitting (with strictnes enough) any perticular of his actions  
and expences; and, after all their streight inquisition and  
narrow sifting, they againe acknowledged, which uppon  
their report was confirmed by the councell, that his man-  
agement of this affayre had bin faithfull and prudent, his  
disbursements



1654. disbursements had bin just and necessary his account was  
 ~~~~~ cleer and honest, and that he ought to be satisfied what  
 July 8. remained uppon his accounts due to him.

The remainder due to him was above 500 l. and, notwithstanding all their promises, Whitelocke could never gett it of them.

The sume of all was, that, for a most difficult and dangerous worke, faithfully and successfully performed by Whitelocke, he had little thanks, and no recompence, from those who did imploy him; butt not long after was rewarded by them with an injury: they putt him out of his office of commissioner of the Great Seale, bicause he would not betray the rights of the people, and, contrary to his owne knowledge, and the knowledge of those who imposed it, execute an ordinance of the protector and his councill, as if it had bin a lawe.

Butt, in a succeeding parlement, uppon the motion of his noble friend the lord Broghill, Whitelocke had his arrears of his disbursements payd him, and some recompence of his faithfull service allowed unto him.

His hopes were yett higher, and his expectation of acceptance was from a superior to all earthly powers; to whom only the prayse is due to of all our actions and indeavours, and who will certainly reward all his servants with a recompence which will last for ever.

9. I received this letter from my brother Willoughby.

For

For my Lord WHITELOCKE, att Chelsey, humbly these.

1654.

July 9.

“ My Lord,

“ I being this day commaunded, by the two within named
 “ persons in your letter, to consummate their nuptialls, and
 “ in that to beare the part of a father, am so confident of
 “ my power, as (were it not my lord Whitelocke’s request,
 “ whose interest with them exceeds a mock father) he might
 “ be assured of not fayling of his commaunds ; butt, that
 “ done, which this morning I am going about, I am by
 “ them desired to jogge on to Stansted, so that I feare I
 “ shall, by that means, be disappointed of attending you
 “ uppon Wednesday ; and that, I assure you, will goe to
 “ Nansye’s heart, she being yesterday resolved to have
 “ visited you this morning att Chelsey, had she not appre-
 “ hended your early being in towne ; butt wherever we
 “ are, our thankfullnes to God for your safe returne, you
 “ shall not fayle off, nor of the keeper to-morrow night :
 “ so I rest,

“ My lord,

“ your affectionate brother.

July.

“ to serve you,

“ WILL. WILLOUGHBY.”

I have inserted this and other letters, that you may observe the change of stiles and complements in the change of fortunes and conditions.

I had bin severall times to visit my lord Lambert since my comming home, he being a person in great favour with the army, and not without some close emulation
 tion :

1654. tion from Cromwell ; butt his occasions were so great, that
 July. 10. I could not meet with him.

I therefore desired the earle of Clare, who was very intimate with Lambert, to contrive a conveniency for my meeting with my lord Lambert, wheruppon he sent me this letter, directed

For the Lord WHITELOCKE, att Chelsey.

“ My Lord,

“ Hearing your lordship had bin severall times to see my
 “ lord Lambert, and misst, and I desiring that there should
 “ be no mistakes between you, I sent Mr. Bankes to signify
 “ so much to his cousen Lambert, who, being cum this
 “ morning to town, sayes, he will be very glad to see your
 “ lordship about two this afternoon, and Mr. Bankes will
 “ waite on your lordship to him, if you please to be in the
 “ Parke, in the walke between the elmes, on this side the
 “ water : so I rest

“ Your lordship’s

“ humble servant,

“ CLARE.”

I mett Mr. Bankes att the time appointed, who brought me to my lord Lambert, and he received me with great civility and respect : we had much discourse together about Sweden, and Germany, and Denmarke, and the buisnes of my treaty ; and we parted with all kindnesse, and he desired to have my company often.

I re-

I received this letter from my lady Pratt.

1654.

July 11.

*For my ever honoured Friend, the Lord Whitelocke,
These humbly.*

“ My lord,

“ Hearing that it is absolutely in your power to dispose
“ of the time of the assises, and an unexpected accident
“ being faln out, which will make them extreamly preju-
“ diciall to us, if they begin so soon ; my humble suit to
“ your lordship is, to deferre them till, &c. This favour, as
“ it will be an extraordinary great one, so it will lay a suit-
“ able obligation uppon,

“ My lord,

“ your most humble servant,

“ MARGARET PRATT.”

I could not gratify this ladye's desire, being not yett
sworne a commissioner of the Great Seale ; butt I returned
her a civill answear and excuse : and I have inserted the
more letters, that you may see the stile and complements of
divers persons, and note their change uppon the change of
times.

I received this letter from the lord chiefe baron Wylde.

12.

*For the right honorable the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke,
These, att Chelscy.*

“ Right honourable, and my very good lord,

“ It is not my happynesse to be in place or condition to
“ wayte uppon your lordship, as I would, to present my

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G g g

“ humble

1654. " humble service to you, and the gratulations due for your
 July 12. " safe and happy returne, for your long and hazardous (butt
 " I hope) successfull journey, wishing the honor and hap-
 " pynes, which belongs to your most known deservings,
 " may ever attend you, with a reward from above, for those
 " inestimable favours, by which you have for ever obliged
 " me to you and all that is mine; who, after the long
 " course I have runne, through all the degrees of my laborious
 " calling, my services to my countrey, and the common-
 " wealth; my great losses and sufferings for the publique,
 " and the discharge of my duety in all my severall trusts
 " and imployments; have now the hoped for comfort of all
 " removed from me, and a darke shadow cast uppon me,
 " with all the sad consequences therof to me and mine,
 " and many others that have dependance on me. Butt
 " God gives and takes, and is able to restore; his help I
 " trust in, and shall still desire the continuance of your
 " lordship's undoubted favours, whose health and happines
 " I shall ever pray for, who am,

" My lord,

Hampsted,
 12th July, 1654.

" your lordship's most

" faithfull servant

" JOHN WYLDE."

This gentleman was very laborious in the service of the
 parlement, and stiffe for them; and had sustained great
 losses and hatred by adhering in all matters to them: he
 was learned in his profession, butt of more reading then
 depth of judgement; and I never heard of any injustice or
 incivility of him.

The

The parlement made him lord chiefe baron of the Ex-^{1654.}
chequer, which place he executed with diligence and ^{July 12.}
justice; yett, uppon the alteration made by Cromwell,
when he assumed the protectorship, in the nomination of
officers he left out Mr. Sergeant Wylde from being chiefe
baron, or any other imployment; an usuall reward in such
times for the best services.

He intreated me to move the protector on his behalfe,
which I did, butt to no effect; the protector having a dis-
like of the Sergeant, butt the ground therof I could not
learne.

Most places were full of trouble about their elections of
parlement men: I had recommended my son James to some
of my friends in Oxfordshire, for one of the knights for
that countey, myselfe being chosen for the citty of Oxford,
and for the borough of Bedford, and one of the knights for
Bucks.

I had att this time such an interest in Oxfordshire, that,
uppon my account, my son James was chosen for one of
their knights for the parlement, as appears by this letter
to me.

*For the right honorable his deare Father the Lord Commissioner
Whitelocke, att Chelfey. These. Hast, hast.*

“ Dear Sir,

“ I held it my duety, uppon the instant of the conclusion
“ of the elections att this place, to acquaint you, that I am
“ chosen one of the knights for the countey in the next
“ parlement. I am told, that the number of voyces might
“ justly have given the first place to me; butt I freely re-

G g g 2

“ signed

1654. " signed it to lieutenant generall Fleetwood, not suffering
 July 12. " it to be brought to tryall by the polle, which many of
 " the countrey desired. The persons elected are, lieutenant
 " generall Fleetwood, Mr. Robert Jenkinson, collonell Na-
 " thaniel Fynes, Mr. Lenthall, Master of the Rolles, and
 " myselfe.

" Many of your friends appeared really for me, amongst
 " which, I can experimentally say, none acted more effec-
 " tually then my cousen captain Crooke, his father, and
 " brother. The citty of Oxford was prepared very season-
 " ably for me, wherein my cousen Richard Crooke's affec-
 " tions did perticularly appeare; and I conceive, that, if you
 " shall be pleased to waive the election for the citty of Ox-
 " ford, no truer friend could be commended by you for
 " their choice then my cousen Richard Crooke, in regard
 " of his interest there, if you thinke it fitt. I shall say no
 " more att present in this hast, butt expect your commands
 " in all things, who am

Oxford,
 July 12. 1654.

" Your most obedient sonne,

" J. WHITELOCKE."

The gentlemen of Oxfordshire did generally manifest great civility and respect to me in this buisnes of my son; so did the cittizens of Oxford; and the schollars were not behind hand in the expression of their favour and good opinion of me and my son; and they stood stoutly and generally for my son to be one of the knights for the countey.

Thus was my interest, att this time, sufficient to make another to be knight of the shire; yett, when my condition fell, my interest fell with it, and I was looked uppon as a straunger among

among them : such is the course and vicissitude of worldly things, therefore putt no trust in them.

1654.
July 12.

This order of the councill was brought unto me.

13.

Thursday, the 13th of July, 1654.

“ Att the councill att Whitehall.

“ Ordered by his highnes the lord protector and the
“ councill, that the lord commissioner Whitelocke doe
“ attend the councill to-morrow morning to take his oath
“ as one of the lords commissioners for the Great Seale, and
“ that the rest of the lords commissioners doe then also
“ attend with the Seale.

“ HENRY SCOBELL,

“ clerke of the councill.”

Some of my friends thought it very long before this order was made, and looked uppon it as some neglect to me ; wherof I was likewise sensible, butt had no remedy : only it seemed hard, that, after so perilous an undertaking, performed (through the blessing of God) faithfully and successfully on my part, my requitall should be a neglect of me and my services.

Yett it pleased God to give me much patience and temperance to beare this slighting and ingratitude ; and I knew the condition of him from whom it came, who, when his turne was served, usually forgot the instruments.

According to the councill's order, the lords commissioners L'Isle and Widdrington attended with the Seale att Whitehall, and I was there also.

14.

We.

1654. We were all called into the councell, where the protector
 July 14. himselfe was, sitting att the upper end of the table, with his
 hatt on, and the councell all uncovered.

He made a short and grave speech, how much I had deserved from the common-wealth by the great and faithfull services I had performed for them, peticularly in the treaty with Sweden.

That in my absence the custody of the Great Seale being to be disposed off, the councell and himselfe having good experience of my fidelity and abilities for that great trust, and as a testimony of their favour to me, they thought fitt to nominate me for one of the commissioners of the Seale.

And I, being now, through the mercy of God, safely returned agayne into this common-wealth, they had appointed this time for me to take the oath of a commissioner of the Great Seale, as the rest of the commissioners had done before.

I then desired to see the oath, which was shewed to me; and, finding it to be same that I had taken before, I tooke it now agayne: and after that, the protector tooke the Great Seale in his hand, and delivered it to me and the other commissioners; and so we did withdraw with it.

Sir Thomas Widdrington seemed a little distasted, that I was the first commissioner, named before him, which was done when I was out of England, and I suppose bicause I was then ambassador extraordinary in their actuall service. We went away together to consult about the buisnes of the Seale; and I sought to winne Sir Thomas Widdrington by my civility to him.

I employed my brother Willson, to the commissioners of ^{1654.}
 the customs, to gett the copper, which I had brought from ^{July 15.}
 Sweden, and some deale boards, to be discharged of paying
 custome, they being my perticular goods ; concerning which,
 my brother Willson gave me this account by his letter.
 And also, touching the arrears of my salary as commissioner
 of the Great Seale, during my absence out of England, and
 for one terme since my comming home.

For the right honorable the Lord Commissioner WHITELOCKE.
These. Chelsey.

“ May it please your lordship,

“ This morning I waited on the commissioners of the
 “ customs with your lordship’s letter, who exprest much
 “ readynesse to answear your expectation about the customs
 “ of the copper and deale boardes, had it bin in their power,
 “ their commission not exceeding a bill of store for 40 s. butt
 “ I am to wayte on the commissioners att Whitehall for re-
 “ gulating the customs, on Tuesday morning (who sitt not
 “ till then): they have power to graunt the custom therof,
 “ and carrying the letter from your lordship, I question
 “ not butt will take effect ; and so they have acquainted me ;
 “ which letter I send inclosed, that you may please in the
 “ superscription to adde to the word commissioners (for re-
 “ gulating, &c.) which then will be fitt to present to the
 “ said committee. In the meane time, I have procured an
 “ order to goe to worke uppon the smalle vessell, which
 “ cannot well be done, untill you are pleased to send word
 “ what shall be done with the deales, they being upper-
 “ most. If the barge be not ready, if you think fitt, I will
 “ hire a lighter, and loade her therewith, which may convey
 “ them to Queen Hive, or Chelsey ; otherwise it will be lesse
 “ charge :

1654. " charge for a barge to take them in from the ship: your
 lordship's pleasure shall be observed in all.
 July 15.

" I acquainted the commissioners of the customs of an
 " order your lordship had for 1000 l. which they acquainted
 " me should be payd as soon as brought to them; since
 " which I have received it from Mr. Earle, which I also
 " send inclosed, that you may please to putt your name un-
 " derneath it, that so receipt may be made over it after
 " their forme; and on Monday it will be payed.

" My humble service to my lady I beseech you present;
 " I shall awayte your lordship's answear and ever remaine

" Your lordship's most

London this
 15. July 1654.

" obliged servant

" SAMUEL WILLSON."

I ordered an Henley barge to take in the deale boardes
 from the shippe, and to carry them to Fawley Court, which
 was done; and there I made use of them for new flowring
 my hall, and for wainscoting of it: they were extraordinary
 good boards, and those of the flower were about two inches
 thicke. There they are, and there may they long continue,
 for the use of me and my children.

And may they putt us in minde to blesse God for his good-
 nesse to me in that voyage, and in my safe returne to that
 place, and of all his preservations and mercyes to me and
 my company!

I returned order to my brother Willson, to be carefull of
 receiving my money from the commissioners of the customs.

I had some conference with major G. Disborough, one of 1654.
 the commissioners for the ordinance, about his buying for ^{July 16.}
 the state the copper which the queen of Sweden gave me,
 and I brought over from thence, being 250 ship pownd.
 I desired that some marchants might looke uppon it, who
 had experience in that commodity; and what they should
 agree to be a reasonable price for it, I should be content to
 take it; and so we concluded.

My brother Willson gave me this account, touching my 17.
 monies and copper.

For the right honorable the Lord Commissioner WHITELOCKE.
These, att Chelfey.

London, the 17th July 1654.

“ May it please your lordship,

“ I sent this morning to receive your monies att the
 “ custom-house, and they say there is no more due to your
 “ lordship then 750 l. for three terms, as is exprest in the
 “ receipt inclosed, which they have made. I would not
 “ receive it untill I knew your pleasure, which, if this
 “ some doth agree with what is your due, you may please to
 “ putt your name to the inclosed receipt from them, and it
 “ will be payd in the morning. The order also I send
 “ backe, that you may please to take off your name from it,
 “ and send it againe by the bearer.

“ In the morning we shall worke uppon the shippe, and
 “ I shall waite on the committee att Whitehall, for the
 “ custom and excise of the copper to be free, which will

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H h h

“ come

1654. " come to 240 l. I hope I shall prevayle, and shall alwayes
 ~~~~~  
 July 17. " remaine

" Your lordship's humble servant,

" SAMUEL WILLSON."

There was a mistake by the commissioners of the customs about my money, which I rectefyed, and had the 1000 l. payd to my brother Willson for my use.

Touching the copper, I att length contracted with major G. Disborough, who bought it for the protector, and gave me 2500 l. for it, which was justly payed unto me: and the copper was imployed to make brasse ordnance for the shippes, and was excellent good, and no ill bargaine.

I received a letter from Mr. Henry Elfing, late clerke of the parlement, and the best clerke in my judgement that ever I knew to take the fence of the house and putt it in apt termes.

He was an excellent schollar, had the italian, french, and latin languages. A very honest and ingenious man, and fitter for much better imployment then to be clerke of the parlement.

He was my faithfull and kind friend, and I owe very much of affection and gratitude to the memory of this worthy gentleman.

He was in great and deserved favour of the house of commons, and gave over his place, bicause he would not meddle in the buisnes about the tryall of the king.

He



He often invited Mr. Selden and me together to his house 1654.  
to dinners, where we had great cheer, and greater learning <sup>July 17.</sup>  
in excellent discourse, wherof himselfe bare a chiefe part.

I was the more frequent with him, being god-father to one of his sons, and Mr. Selden the other god-father, which brought us two the oftener together to his house to see our god-son; and, even in such meetings as these, I gained very much of knowledge from the most learned and rationall discourses of Mr. Selden.

## A P P E N D I X.



He often invited Mr. Selden and me together to his house to dine, where we had great cheer, and greater learning in excellent discourse, which himself gave a choice part.

I was the more frequent with him, being god-father to one of his sons, and Mr. Selden the other god-father, which brought us two the often together to his house to see our god-son; and even in such meetings as these, I gained very much of knowledge from the most learned and rational discourse of Mr. Selden.

When that his son was christened, I was god-father to him, and he was christened in the name of John, which was the name of his father.

After this, I continued to visit him, and he continued to visit me, and we continued to converse together, and he continued to be very kind to me.

When his son was grown up, he continued to be very kind to me, and he continued to be very kind to me.

When his son was grown up, he continued to be very kind to me, and he continued to be very kind to me.

When his son was grown up, he continued to be very kind to me, and he continued to be very kind to me.

When his son was grown up, he continued to be very kind to me, and he continued to be very kind to me.



# A P P E N D I X.

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## N U M B E R I.

### T H E AUTHOR'S PREFACE AND DEDICATION

### T O H I S C H I L D R E N,

OF HIS GENERAL WORK, ENTITLED,

### W H I T E L O C K E ' s L A B O U R S

REMEMBERED IN THE ANNALES OF HIS LIFE,

F O R

### I N S T R U C T I O N T O H I S C H I L D R E N.

Et vacet Annales, nostrorum audire laborum.

VIRGIL. 2. Æneid.

Hear, ye Children, the Instruction of a Father.

PROV. iv. 1.

MY DEARE CHILDREN,

**I**F you heare your father censured, as probably you will, for a vaine ostentation, or presumption, to write the annales of his own life, though the censurers heare nothing butt the title of the booke, which is more than I intend should be published; yett, for your satisfaction, and to inable you to answear for me, if there should be occasion, I have thought fitt, before I begin the worke, to give a short account of the grounds and motives of it.

Deus nobis hæc otia fecit. God was pleased to reduce me to this leisure, in a privacy more then accustomed, and therin to a frame of the heart for the review of my former course of life, wherby I might become more senceible of the errors of my wayes, more penitent for them, and more frequent in seeking to God for pardon.

My



My labours and hazards for the publique have bin very great, as you will see in these annales; and likewise, that the remembrance and reward of them, from some of those with whom I was ingaged, and for whom I did most adventure, hath bin envy, and indeavour to ruine me, had not the clemency of our king and parlement interposed.

It is therefore the more excusable, if now, being out of publique affayres, I betake my selfe to my private affayres and considerations; especially having, through the goodnes of God, uppon me, the charge and care of a numerous family.

The politique old sayings, of *Partim Patriæ, &c. Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*, and the like, I passe by; and though I shall never discourage you in your ductyes to the publique, which I acknowledge uppon every one; and do advise you with all readyness and industry, to serve your king and countrey:

And yett, I shall likewise counsell you, that if you shall be so happy, as to be serviceable to your countrey, which, I hope, you will, that you do not expect much recompence from them; nor too much neglect your private families; as perhaps some of your friends have done, to serve those who will scarce thanke you for any of your labours.

The opinion of that ingenious and wise statesman, Grave Woolfeldt, seems not irrationall; who being in banishment, accounted that place his countrey, where he was best used, and which gave his present livelyhood, though farre distant from the place where he did first breath: and that his wife and children were the principall part of his countrey, wheresoever they were; and *omne solum forti patria, quocunq; sub axe*.

This may the more excuse my unconcernement, as to the publique, in this worke, and my intention of it, as it is proper for my private family; and 'tis rather a duety, than boasting, for a father to instruct his children, and no unprofitable way of instruction, by example as well as præcept.

In the following annales, some few particular examples may be fitt for imitation, more to be avoyded, both may be usefull, and this way the better fixed, and preserved in memory; the examples which you will find of others allowe the same liberty, butt require the more attention.

Together with the story of these annales, I have inserted some notes of learning on severall subjects, as occasion is given, which may be a diversion, if not usefull to some of you; I hope it will, and intend it so: as likewise the abrigement, which you will heer find, of the publique story of your native countrey, which did cost me no smalle labour in the collecting, and composing of it.

Heer you will meet with severall private, and perhaps you may judge triviall transactions, butt they are private, which is some apology for them, and to me somewhat out of them observable; and I wish, and believe, that most of them may be so to you; however, they are not intended by me for publique view.



You will also find heer, the tranſactions of ſeverall other private perſons, and of ſome of the moſt eminent: and whileſt I write the annales of my owne life, I am therby put in mind, almoſt every year, of the death of ſome friend, or of ſome perſons of publique imployment and quality.

Wherof I doe the rather take notice to remember our mortality, and the certain concluſion of all labours under the funne; and to tranſmit that conſideration, with the examples of your age, and the memory of perſons whoſe actions are worthy of imitation, and of others whoſe actions merit a deteſtation.

All is recommended to the peruſall, and intended for the inſtruction of thoſe of my own houſe, and almoſt in every page, you will find a dedication to you,

My deare Children,

Whom nature will perſwade to a beliefe of your father, telling you, that he ſeekes your good, and reſpects you more than any others; for which reaſon chiefly he hath written, and commended to you theſe annales, not for your patronage, butt inſtruction: the authority of a father needs no countenance, butt requires a due regard, and obſervance from his children.

Some of you are parents, and I hope more of you will be; and heer you may find examples and præcepts for all relations, with the comforts and diſcomforts in them; examples to be imitated, more to be avoyded; the duety of huſbands and wives; of parents and of children; of maſters and of ſervants; of ſovereigns and of ſubjects; and where there have bin any faylings.

Heer you may find ſomewhat of the laws and government of your native countrey, the moſt proper ſubject for your father's pen; and of reſemblances to the politie of the Hebrewes, and of other nations, with ſome (though weake) vindications, of the antiquity, juſtice, and honour of the Engliſh lawes and people, cuſtomes and government.

Heer you may alſo find, fundry meditations, though confuſed, and unlearned expoſitions uppon ſeverall texts of the holy ſcripture, wherin I accounted my time beſt ſpent; and ſo may you account yours, that ſhall be ſpent uppon the like ſubjects.

Butt heer ariſeth another objection againſt me, that one of my profeſſion, a common lawyer, educated in other ſtudies and ſciences, ſhould make choiſe of a ſubject ſo improper for him, fitter for a doctor of theologie, than for a counſellor att lawe, to treat upon, who cannot be preſumed to be furniſhed with learning or abilities for ſuch a worke.

The latter part of the objection I acknowledge to be true, and unanſwearable, my want of learning and abilities, for any mediations, or expoſitions upon the texts of holy ſcripture; and indeed who is ſufficient for theſe things?

That I have not neglected the ſtudies of my own calling, will ſomewhat appear in theſe annales, where I have inſerted divers of the labours of my ſtudy in my profeſſion, the better to preſerve them, for your uſe; and by other papers and manuſcripts of mine, heer omitted; and by the many ſmaller volumes of common places (yett too many to have roome in this worke);  
which



which have bin with great labour collected by me out of your grandfather's excellent notes, and others, and by my owne study, and most of them are written by me, as you may find.

When I had little to doe in practise or publique matters, I tooke the more time for study of the divine trueths, and even in that study, did not altogether neglect that of my calling; the noting of the dependances, and resemblances of some of our English lawes, uppon those of the Hebrewes, being part of my designe in those meditations.

Butt my chiefe designe therin was, the glory of God, and the instruction of you, my children, and of those of my own house; and whatever others doe, or may object, I hope, and resolve, through God's assistance, that I and my house will serve the Lord; and I take it to be the office of every father to be a priest in his own family.

Nor am I convinced, that the profession of a counsellor att lawe doth disable or disingage him from the study of divinity; more than a doctor in theology is by his profession debarred from taking care of his own property.

Every one hath a soul to save, and every master of a family hath many souls to answer for: it concernes every father of a family, to instruct those of his house in that knowledge, that God may say of him as he said of Abraham, *Gen. xviii. 19. I know him, that he shall commaund his children, and his household after him, and they will keep the way of the Lord, to doe justice and judgement.*

My annotations uppon scripture will be the lesse reproveable, if theologists be more silent then ordinary; or if the subject matter of my expositions doe afford some roome for politicall or legall observations.

Nor is it improper for a common lawyer, to lay hold on any opportunity, both for the honor of his countrey, and their lawes, as also of his profession, and information of his children, to note the resemblances, dependancies, and derivations of the lawe of England, and to and uppon the lawes and customes of the Hebrewes, who received their politie from God himselfe.

And heerin, somthing may tend to evince the ignorance or malevolence of such, who blemish themselves more then their country, when they go about to dishonour or disparage the lawes and rights of their countrey men, and of themselves, blindly affirming them to be introduced by conquerors and heathens.

Indeed it cannot be denyed, butt that some alterations and additions have bin made uppon change or conquest of the inhabitants of this island, as it hath likewise bin in most other nations; yett, that there is a very great resemblance in many of our lawes, to those of the Hebrewes, will in some particulars appeare in this treatise, and in those parts of it.

And without controversy, the lawes and customes of England will be found rather to have bin transmitted from us to some of our neighbours, then to have bin imposed on us by any of our conquerors, as some, who are no great historians, are pleased to stile them.

Butt this may be more pertinent to another occasion, or to more time then can now be borrowed. I thinke those matters to be most worthy of your  
notice



notice, which tend most to the good of your souls; and I hold my selfe obliged to take care of your spirituall, as well as your temporall condition.

And I am most sure, that there is no other way can be so effectually, for the good of your souls, as to convince you by the trueths of God, when you erre, as all doe; and I am as certaine, that of those trueths no christian ought to be ignorant, or a stranger to them, of what profession soever he be.

And I am perswaded, that a lay man, as we are called, is as much obliged to take care of his own soul, and of the souls of those under his charge, of his household, as those who call themselves spirituall men are obliged to the cure of their parishioners; and I hold my selfe capable to be a counsellor of divinity to you, as well as att law to others. If the matter be good, lett it come from whom it will, it is good to receive it, and you will find good by following of it.

With these matters, and consonant to them, you may chiefly take notice in these annales, of the eminent mercy and goodness of God to your father, in the large share of blessings he hath given me, and in the wonderfull deliverances he hath vouchsafed to me, for which we all have cause to blesse his name.

The memory and worth of your deceased grandfather deserves all honour and imitation, both from you and me; his *Liber famelicus*, his own story, written by himselfe, will be left to you, and was an encouragement and president to this larger worke.

The subject of this, I doe acknowledge, deserveth not so much roome in your minds, or time to be spent in reading of it, as the former; butt the times, and actions, and changes in your father's age, with his retirement, and diversion from troublesome thoughts, may pleade an apology for these volumes.

Which I bequeath as a legacy to you, my children; and in it examples, præcepts, precedents, and counsell, for the management and conduct of yourselves and your affayres, in the future course of your lives; and for the good of your souls, as well as of your bodyes and temporal estates.

It was the word of your grandfather to me, "I shall leave you lesse worldly meanes then those of my quality use to leave their children; butt be contented with it, and trust in God, who gave it to us; and I hope, his blessing, which only maketh rich, will go along with it."

This I have found true; and I say the same to you, and wish you to esteem his legacy for the good of your temporall condition, butt more for the good of your pretious souls; and upon that, preferre it before the smalle portions of worldly meanes that I am able to distribute among you.

Which, nevertheless, you and I ought to esteem (as they are) the great goodness and bounty of our God to us, and much more then many our betters doe enjoy, and then any of us can deserve; and what I have done, or shall dispose therein, you may take notice to be of my free inclinations to each of you, I being intirely master of that whole estate which God hath given me.



Among his choicest mercyes, I account it that he hath given me a numerous posterity: I have fowerteen of you (my children) yett living, and three are not; I humbly pray to God, that you may all prove so many choice mercyes indeed to me, and to one another.

May the fullness of my quiver prove a happyness to us all, and be arrows to me, though a meane man; it will be most in your powers to make it so, through the blessing of God; and it will be sadde for any of you who shall doe the contrary.

I expect it from you, that in the reading of this treatise, where you meet with the imperfections of your father, as too often you will, that you passe them by, and like Sem and Japhet, cover them: and if any thing occurs worthy your observation, I advise you to pursue the same with all dilligence.

Be provident and industrious, to provide for yourselves and your families on earth; and may none of you ever know how great a misery poverty is, whereof you will find some things noted by me in my meditations upon the text. *Psal. cix. 10. Lett his children be continually vagabonds, and beg; lett them seek their bread out of their desolate places.* I hope, and pray, that this may never be the condition of you, or any of yours.

Butt that every one of you will betake himselfe to some profession or calling, wherein God will blesse you, and wherby you may be inabled to live yourselves comfortably, and to provide competently for your family; and he that doeth not this is worse then an infidell.

Those of you who are, or shall be of the *profession* of your father and grandfather, will be encouraged therin, by the blessings which God hath bin pleased liberally to bestow on them in that their honest, lawfull, and honourable calling.

And it is the more encouragement, what I have heard your grandfather note, that the posterities of those who have rayfed their houses by this profession, have had a remarkable blessing of God with them, for their continuance longer, and in more repute, than generally the families rayfed by those of other professions.

In this profession, out of these my labours, you may find some helpes; more, out of my little bookes of common places, the which were too many to be heer inserted; butt the most helpe you may find, in the excellent notes and bookes manuscripts of your grandfather: as many of them as escaped the plunder and losse, when I was forced to flye to save my life, and to remove my bookes and papers, I have endeavoured to preserve for you.

Surely no profession of humane learning can gain a man more advantage or honour, nor more inable him to honour God, by promoting of justice and and punishment of sin, nor more accomplish him to serve his king and countrey, then this calling doth.

If any of you shall be called to magistracy, or offices of *gouvernement* in your countreys, (which offices are of absolute necessity to be undergone, for the conservation of peace, and of all humane society) in these imployments you will also find some helpe by this treatise, more especially for your understanding



ing of the constitution and power of the parlement of England, wherein my labours in some of my meditations, and other places, may give you more information then you will find printed: and this is a learning wherein all Englishmen, both governors and governed are concerned, as to estate, liberty, and life, not to be ignorant.

If any of you shall be delighted with the study of *history*, Erasmus, in præf. in Sueton. will incourage you therin, who telles you, that from no bookes can more profit be reaped, then from the monuments of them, who transmit past actions to posterity.

And Verger, l. 2. c. 3. informes you, that those things which are done valiantly, are of one age; butt those things which are written for the benefit of the common-wealth, they are eternall.

Cicero, l. 2. de orator. ad Q. fr. comprehends all in his praise of history, that it is testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magistra vitæ, nuntia vetustatis.

Henry de Knighton, de Euent. Angl. Col. 2312. borrowes this expreffion; and faith further, that history may in some sort be esteemed immortall, when it recalles to memory those things which were given over to oblivion, and reduceth them to a present knowledge;

And renewes other things, which would have perished, if they had not bin written, and enlivens them, as seperated from death; perpetuating them to the fucceffion of one man after another, and preserving them as a treasure, for the good and benefit of men.

In this study you will find also incouragement from the example of your grandfather, who was a perfect historian, especially in that of his own countrey, as by his notes appears; and from the example also of your father, whose labour in the study of history is testified partly in this volume, and in some that followe.

Those of you who shall take pleasure in the study of matters of *record* and of *antiquity*, may heerin likewise have some advantage and proficiency from the labours of your grandfather and father, who both of them spent some time in that study; and if you shall doe the like, you will find, that the studyes of history, records, and antiquities will be a helpe, the one of them to the knowledge of the other, and all of them to the knowledge and better understanding of the lawes of England.

And not only for a diversion, butt for an ornament in your discourse, and for the inabling of you in matters of state and government, if any of you (as many more unlikely have bin) shall be called therunto.

In these labours, you may also finde severall precedents in divers matters, which may be usefull to some of you upon the like occasions; and I have heer inserted them, that they might not be soon lost, as many of my lesser bookes and loose papers have bin.

Butt all these things will signify nothing, if the unum necessarium be neglected: the building up of your selves in the knowledge of Christ Jesus,



the working out of your own salvations with feare and trembling, for which your frequent study of the holy scriptures will be a sure helpe to you.

I have not a little wondered att, and pityed some persons, who waſt their pretious time in idlenefs or debauchery; and ſome who complaine, that they know not how to ſpend their time: when, if they be illiterate, they may yett without any great labour learne to reade; and that, bleſſed be God, there are bibles enough in print.

I hope, and counſell you all, that you, in the chiefe place, doe apply yourſelves to a moſt conſtant courſe of ſtudy of thoſe moſt wiſe, moſt delightfull, and ſoule ſaving trueths of God.

For your ſtudy heerin, you have the example of your grandfather; who, notwithstanding his full practiſe in his profeſſion, and afterwards his imployment as a judge, yett neglected not his ſtudy of the bible, butt tooke great paines and delight therein, as his notes teſtify under his hand, collected by him throughout both the Old and New Teſtament; and thoſe who lived with him and heard his diſcourſe could teſtify his deep knowledge in divinity.

Alſo your grandmother, though a woman, hath left you an example heerof, by a booke written with her own hand, a collection of many choice promiſes and præcepts out of the booke of God.

Your father may likewise be admitted by you to a little ſhare in this example, which is not remembered for oſtentation, butt for your inſtruction; that when he was a commiſſioner of the ſeale, a member of parlement, and of the counsell of ſtate, yet in one of thoſe years he reade, and tooke notes thorough the whole bible.

And in this ſtudy, I hope you may find ſome helpes by his meditations among theſe his labours, uppon many texts of the holy scriptures, by which you will be ſatiſfied, that in the ſtudy therof he was not negligent.

And, of a trueth (my children) there is not elſewhere to be found ſuch admirable delight, as to hiſtory; ſuch profound wiſdome, as to the conduct of all affayres; ſuch raviſhing expreſſions, as to elegancy of ſtile; ſuch gracious promiſes, as to our future condition; ſuch univerſall unerring præcepts, as to the guidance of our courſe, both heer and heerafter, as you may, and I hope will find in the ſtudy of this booke, from which lett nothing divert you.

The ſome and ſcope of the remembrance of theſe my labours to you, is to inſtruct you to be carefull as to your temporall condition in this life, butt to be more circumspect and diligent to make your calling and election ſure; to lay up for yourſelves treaſures in heaven, where neither moth nor ruſt doth corrupt, and where thieves doe not breake through and ſteale; and never may you or any of yours feel the condition of a reprobate.

Butt may it pleaſe our good God to bleſſe this worke to you, and to bleſſe all the workes of your hands uppon you and yours; to beſtow on you a comfortable ſubſiſtence heer; and when theſe earthly tabernacles ſhall be diſſolved, to make you all inheritors of manſions not made with hands, eternall in the heavens, pertakers with his ſaints of everlaſting glory,

Which is the moſt humble and moſt hearty prayer of  
your truely loving father,

From the Temple,  
July 1, 1664.

BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.



## NUMBER II.

A F R A G M E N T,  
FROM THE FORTY-NINTH YEAR OF THE AUTHOR'S ANNALES,  
RESPECTING THE LAWS, &c.

O F T H E

S W E D E S A N D G O T H E S.

**A**FTER my returne into England, I often waited on the Protector, who seemed to take much contentment in discoursing with me about my negotiation, and the perticular passages betwixt the queen and me; and betwixt the chancellor Oxenstierne, and the other great lords and senators, and officers of the army, and of the court, and me; relating to the Protector's person, and to the treaty.

He was very inquisitive also to learne of me the politie and government of that kingdome, as well in spirituall as civill and military matters; and of their lawes and supream councells and judicatories, and of the administration of publique justice in all causes.

Wherein I indeavoured to give him the best satisfaction I could, and was the better provided to doe it, having taken some paynes while I was uppon the place, by inquiry of their learned men and senators, and by study to understand the forme of government among them.

The Protector seemed so well pleased with the account I gave him in this businez, that he desired me to give him some notes in writing of my observations touching that matter, and of what I had related to him in my discourse uppon this subject.

I laboured to excuse myselfe from this taske, butt he was earnest with me to have it done, and was not to be denyed. Whereupon I collected the following notes on that matter, in order to be presented to his highnesse.

And bicause it concernes the kingdome of Sweden, and the notes were most of them gathered by me when I was there, I have thought it not unfitt to insert them in this place.



## C H A P. I.

*Of the unwritten Lawes of the Swedes and Gothes.*

**T**HE lawes of the Swedes and Gothes, as of England and other nations, were in the most antient times unwritten lawes; and it is noted of them, that att first they had no lawes, and in their first age, *Nullis utebantur legibus nisi quas natura et honestas sculperat.* Wexionius, l. 5. c. 6.

“That they used no other lawes butt those which nature and honesty had ingraven.”

That the will of their kings was taken for lawe, who governed all things as it were by their hand.

And he cites that passage in Tacitus, *plusq; tum apud hosce valuerunt boni mores, quam alibi bonæ leges.*

“Att that time, with these did good manners more availe, then elsewhere good lawes.”

Agreeable to this is the observation of Loccennius, p. 54. That in the beginning of the commonwealth of Swedes and Gothes (as amongst other nations) *Ita hic, nullis nisi cordibus hominum, divinitus inscriptis legibus, et moribus, publicum imperium agitabatur.*

“So heer the publique government was exercised by no other lawes or manners, butt what were divinely written in the hearts of men.”

He also agrees in that. *Dein arbitrium regis pro lege erat, ibid.* “Afterwards the will of the king was instead of law.”

And he saith further, that whatsoever the king, *cum ratione jufferat, id jus ratumq; fuisse, ibid.* “What he did commaund with reason, that was law and ratified.”

According to the Swedish proverb, *dyrt ar drottens ord*, “the king’s word is much to be valued.”

In this time their lawes were unwritten; butt the king’s word, and reason, went for law among them.

Wexionius goes not so farre, when he saith, that by degrees, *quod rex cum consensu populi decrevit, legis habuit vigorem, l. 5. c. 8.* “That which the king decreed, with the consent of the people, had the force of a law.” Butt of this, another place will be more proper to discourse.

Not only their published authors, butt their most learned senators and persons there, with whom I had converse, did affirme in their knowledge of the antiquities of their own nation, that in those oldest times, their lawes were unwritten.

As to which, Wexionius further testifies; that in the first ages, those lawes which carryed the best reason, *non tam litteris quam memoriæ, veluti ut apud Lacedemonios commendabantur, c. 8. ib.* “were not so much committed to writing, as to memory, like as among the Lacedemonians.”

In



In his vii. chap. he saith. Our first auncestors, ut nullas alias, ita nec fundamentales scriptis comprehensas leges habuerunt, "had neither their fundamentall lawes nor other lawes comprehended in writing."

Loccennius relates a proceeding in that kingdome judicially; not by a written law, but by a friendly composing of controversies by arbitrators before the parties goe to lawe; and that the difference might be indeavoured to be thus determined, according to the conscience of these arbitrators, or (as they were called) friend-makers.

And the judges were required before the cause did come in judgement to indeavour to reconcile the persons differing; and that without any written lawe.

He also mentions a supream court antiently held at Upsale, when their kings resided there, to which the people did every year resort; butt if all of them could not conveniently meet, out of every territory some were deputed, who did represent the people.

And although the king were president in that judgement; yett it belonged to the people to give the sentence, which was in their breast, and not directed by any written law: and that being found very inconvenient, was altered.

#### C H A P. II.

##### *Of the written Lawes of the Swedes and Gothes.*

OUR author proceeds in his discourse, that the minds of men being naturally depraved by vice, and kings being men, may erre; therefore it was requisite to have written lawes, certain and constant, by whose rule the government should be administred.

That where the lawe is bad, or (which is almost the same) uncertaine, there also other things are uncertaine and doubtfull, whose rule the law ought to be.

As Tully saith, all things are uncertaine when the law is departed from; nor can it avayle what that will be for the future, quod positum est in alterius voluntate, ne dicam libidine, l. 9. fam. epist. 16. "which is placed in the will, if I may not say, in the lust of another."

The antient manner of making their written lawes, is thus described.

That it was by publique authority, by men learned in the lawes, knowing the state of their countrey, and lovers of it, examined by the senators, who added what they thought fitt, and cutt off what they held superfluous: being sufficiently considered, they were publicquely read to the people in the provinciall judicatories, all of them being gravely attentive thereunto, and approving of them.

They were then confirmed by the king, and published for lawes.

Answearable heerunto, it is recorded of the lawes of Upland; that being diligently perused, superfluous things cutt off, and defects supplied, and all matters by heavenly favour reduced to a just harmony, King Bergerus,



in the year 1293, by the pains of the most wise and most generous man, Bergerus Petrus, reduced them into one body, *adjuvantibus aliis prudentibus viris duodecim, &c.* “with the helpe of twelve other wise men, there named judges.”

Convocatisq; omnibus cordatioribus viris, trium Folklandiarum præsidibus ac iudicibus; “all the most hearty men of three Folklands, presidents, and judges, being called together, these lawes were approved.”

The lawes of Westro Gothland were first proposed by one Lumberus, and are therefore called *Lumbi Leges*; he was a Pagan.

The severall lawes of other provinces being divers constitutions, speciall lawes and municipall rights dispersed into severall volumes, Christopher, king of the Swedes, Gothes, Danes, Norwegians, &c. att the instance of the senators, and petition of the nobles, knights, and military men, *ex ista varietate, jus commune in unum legisterium (quo hodieq; utimur) compilari permittit, lib. 5. c. 3.*

“Out of that variety he permitted to be compiled the common lawe in one lawe booke, which we use att this day; and in the year 1452, confirmed by his kingly authority.”

The decrees also and acts of their publique councells, their *rixsdagh* or parlement, are part of their written lawes; and att this day all their lawes are written: their municipall or common lawes, which were the customes of their countrey, and of severall provinces and territories, and were adjudicata, are now written in a generall law-booke, out of which the judgment is read applicable to the cause in question, which is for the most part now printed, and used in their respective judicatories.

Butt in old time, before the use of paper and parchment, their lawes were cutt and inscribed in tables of wood; and att present, both their common lawes and statute lawes are all written lawes.

### C H A P. III.

#### *Of the Lawes of the Swedes and Gothes in generall.*

**A**T T this day, both the provinciall and municipall lawes are collected, as is before remembered, into one volume, which hath bin done within 300 years; and the authority and force of either is equall.

The provinciall lawe is mother of the municipall: and although (according to the different state of times and manners, and the distinct condition of provinces and citties) they differ in some points; yett, in most things they agree, as to themselves, and the state of the countrey; according to the provinciall lawes in provinces and territories; according to the municipall lawes in citties and townes; and besides those, according to the decrees and approved course of the kingdom in courts and tribunalls, the custom and course of the court being lawe; according to these respectively the lawe is pronounced.

And



And in case those are deficient, it is lawfull for the judges to consult the ancient lawe bookes, and judgements or reports of judgements of Upland, Gothland, and the rest, wherein they are not repugnant, the old lawes to the new; and so to make use of them.

And although the lawes of Sweden are not so numerous, yett the benefit and force of them makes them weighty; the state of the kingdome is the more composed and equall, bicause it is not distracted with various lawes, which cause incertainty and vexation and charge.

And Sweden is held to be happy, in that they have butt one God, one king, and one lawe.

The same author saith, that the law of Sweden is short and succinct; and therefore the more accommodated to the speedy decision of causes; the matter of suits being cutt off, where the lawes are few and simple; and not burdened with vast comments of interpreters and diversity of opinions; butt agreeable to equity, the law of nature and nations, and to the genius of the kingdome.

They cannot comprehend all matters, bicause busineses are infinite; butt the law is finite; it is sufficient if it speake universally, although it doe not containe all things that fall out; butt they are committed to the breast of the judge: or in greater and more doubtfull matters, the interpretation and decision of them is demaunded of the magistrate and supream judges, as the usage heer is; and the most excellent way of cutting off prolixity of suits.

Another saith of their lawes, that they are *paucissimæ, brevissimæ, et valde concisæ*; most few, most short, and most concise; so that the lawes now extant seeme to be *veluti oracula quædam, et mera acumina*; "as certain oracles and meer points of law."

For the antiquity of these lawes, king Bergerus is said to have had great veneration thereunto: and they cite the lawes of Eric king of the Gothes, in the year of the worlde 2014;

The lawes of king Charles II. commaunding hospitality, uppon paine that those houses whose use is denyed to travellers shall be burned.

The lawes of king Gother, made *non nisi procerum populiq; consensu*, "not without the consent of the peers and people;"

Those of Saint Eric the king, after the warre, wherby he conjoyned the mindes of the Swedes and Gothes together.

The lawes of king Algothus II. which are said to be, *humanitate plenas, oleo potius quam sanguine notatas*, "full of humanity, and marked with oyle rather than blood," with divers others, are of great antiquity, agreeable to king Gother's lawe; wherein also is that part of the king's oath, that he will observe, confirme, and maintaine, *jus Sueiscum, liberis populi votis, atq; consensu receptum*; "the lawe of Sweden received by the free votes and consent of the people;" and especially that forein lawes be not introduced in oppression of the subjects; *nec ulla lex nova nisi populi voluntate, et consensu*



fenfu condatur, "nor any new lawe, unlesse it be made with the will and consent of the people."

There be also ecclesiasticall constitutions, chiefly taken out of the divine law, decrees of publique councells, and other politicall constitutions as ordinances, with judiciall proces, and the like.

There are speciall custumary lawes in cittyes and boroughs, called Stadtz-logh, answearable to the provinciall law: also new ordinances of the citties concerning trade; and many profitable statutes relating to their affayres.

There are also speciall articles, as lawes of war for soldiers, in their expeditions and garrysons; and the like for seamen; for the universities; and for affayres of the mines respectively: which are all part of their lawes.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### *Of Law Suits, and of Lawyers among the Swedes and Gothes.*

**T**HE lawe suits among them are butt few, in comparison of the multitudes of them in England and other cuntryes; the reasons therof may be,

1. Bicause a litigious man among them is generally loathed, and his company avoyded, which discourageth suits;
2. The plaintife, if he fayle in his suit, must yield full costs to the defendant;
3. The boores and burgers, and men of mean condition, are in so much feare and slavery of their lords and great men, that they hardly dare contest with them uppon a matter of right and title, butt submit to their will;
4. They have butt little trade, which causeth butt few contracts, and consequently few law suits which for the most part arise uppon contracts;
5. They have butt few conveyances of purchase; and if a man agree for a purchase of land, any that may pretend title to the land besides the seller, must come in and make his clayme within a yeare after the purchase agreement; or else his title is barred for ever, and no question can be made uppon the purchaser;
6. Bicause discents of inheritances and dispositions of goods among them, uppon the death of an auncestor, are directed and ascertained by their lawes; as the chiefe house, and a double part of the lands and goods goes to the eldest son, one equal part to each younger son, and halfe a part to each daughter; and there are none, or very few law suits uppon willes, or settlements by writing.

As their law suits are few, so they have a speedy dispatch, they having butt few pleadings and formes of proces and proceedings; butt for the most part summarie et de plano, without long delayes or much writing.

Their tryalls both in criminall and civill causes, are by juryes of 12 men, who are chosen by the inhabitants in every precinct, and continue jurors during their lives, except they be putt out for misdemeanor.

These



These jurors are judges of the matter of fact; and the ordinary officers are the judges of matters in law; and they have *celerem justitiam*.

Their jurors they call *nimpe man* and *fang man*, that is, good men and true, the words used by our cryers when they count a jury; and they commonly have 12 jurors in each division or precinct, which they call a hundred; the same as with us a hundred.

There is no profession, society, or college of lawyers among them, nor any professed advocates to plead the causes of clients for their fee; so that the French proverb takes no place with them.

*Bonne terre mauvais chemin.*

*Bon advocat mauvais voisin,*

Good land doth cause ill wayes, and likely 'tis,

That a good lawyer an ill neighbour is.

Though they have no profession of lawyers, yett any man may plead for his friend; and the judges are to take equall care of both parties before them.

## C H A P. V.

### *Of the generall Government of the Swedes and Gothes.*

**T**HEIR government consists of three necessary parts. 1. Of counsell. 2. Of their lawes. 3. Of a good militia, to backe the execution of them.

Their supreme publique counsell, which they call their *ricksdagh*, as our parliament, consists of three parts or estates. 1. King. 2. Lords. 3. Commons. And these three estates have the supreme consultative power in all matters, ecclesiasticall and temporall; and have severall subordinate counsellors under them, as

The *heerdagh*; that is, a convention of the lords, to consult about the publique affayres, like the great counsell of peers in England;

The *outscott*, which is an assembly summoned by the king of some of all the estates, both lords and commons, who pay scot, that is, publique taxes, to advise with them about the affayres of the kingdome: butt neither of these assemblies have any other power butt of counsell only.

The counsell of state, consisting of the senators of the realme, who are as the king's privy counsell, and advise about all publique matters, both of peace and warre, especially about forrein affayres, and they are the greatest subjects of the realme; butt all att the king's nomination.

They have also severall other inferior counsellors, for the respective matters pertaining to them, which they call colleges; as,

1. The college or counsell of justice.
2. The college or counsell of warre.
3. The college or counsell of the admiralty.
4. The college or counsell of the chancery.



5. The colledge or councill of the treasury, to which they have lately added,

6. The colledge or councill of trade.

Besides the publique councill for the generall affayres of the kingdome, they have in their chiefe citties, boroughs, and corporations, perticular councill of their own members, for managing the affayres of those respective corporations, who are usually 24 men of those common councill.

And in every garryson, and brigage or army of soldiers sent out, they have their officers and councill of war within themselves; and the like in every squadron of ships imployed by the crowne.

Their ricksdagh, as it is the supream council; so it is likewise the supream judicatory or court of justice of the nation, to which all judicatories are subordinate.

Those subordinate judicatories, are, 1. The five colledges before-mentioned, which are in some measure courts of justice, as well as judicatories.

Justice is administered to the people for the most part att their own homes, except in cases of great concernement, or uppon appeales.

Ecclesiasticall causes are determined by the bishops and superintendents, and their officers, in their courts within their respective diocesses; and there the misdemeanors of the clergy of each diocesse are sentenced.

The kingdome is divided into severall provinces.

*Hitherto the Author's Manuscript of the Annales of his Life. The Fragment, which follows, is taken from a different Manuscript of the Author, entitled, Of FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS, said to be drawn up at the Request of the Protector. The first part of this Tract is employed about the Government of the Jews; wherein the Author is more enlarged. The latter Part treats concerning the Government of the Swedes and Gothes, agreeing nearly with the foregoing Chapters from the Annales; with the following additional Chapters, being Ten in Number; probably not transcribed a second Time by the Author, for want of Leisure.*

## C H A P. VI.

### *Of the Kingly Office in Sweden.*

**T**HE duty of the king of the Swedes and Gothes appears generally in the antient oath taken by him att his coronation, which is thus shortly expressed.

“The king shall reverence the gods and religion; he shall keepe his faith given; he shall not unjustly oppresse any of his people; he shall governe by the counsell of his peers, saving the liberty of the people; he shall keepe the goods of the crowne, and live contented with his owne renew; he shall defend the kingdome, and not suffer unjust lawes.”

By



By this it appears that his power is not absolute, butt limited by the lawe; which is more largely exprest in the latter oath of their kings, where the king sweares,

“ 1. That he will not neglect piety, the love of God, and of the orthodoxe church.

2. That he will love justice and trueth; and by right and lawe, no lesse then by kingly power, vindicate and suppress iniquity, injustice, and all falsehood and lying.

3. He promisseth security and faith to all his subjects, and not to hurt or damnify any poore or rich, as to life, body, member, or goods, except to those who are lawfully convicted and condemned according to the known lawes of Sweden; nor shall take away, or cause to be seised from any, his moveable or immoveable goods, without a lawfull sentence præceding.

4. That he will governe the kingdome by the counsell of native Swedes, senators of the kingdome.

5. That he will defend the kingly forts and provinces, with the yearly renewes, and with the limits of them.

6. That he shall content himselfe with the kingly renewes of Upsale, with the goods of the crown, and the yearly rents of the kingdome for his maintenance.

7. That he shall keepe the priviledges of temples, churches, clerkes, (and in the time of papacy) of monasteries, illustrious and noble, with their men and goods antiently free.”

After they became protestants, they were sworne to the evangelicall religion, consonant to the pure word of God, and the writings of the prophets and apostles, to the creed and catachisme of Luther, comprehended in the unchangeable Augustine confession, and declared in the councill of Upsale, according to the union, and forme of the hæreditary government, and other comitiall decrees.

In what duety, service, and obedience the people are obliged to their king, and therby the power of the kingly office; appears by that oath of fealty which, uppon the coronation, useth to be administered to the subjects by the lagemen and delegates, and also in the circuit of Eric, where the people doe sweare,

“ 1. That all the inhabitants of the kingdome of Sweden acknowledge this king, and establish the kingly rights and power of him.

2. They declare true obedience to him, and fullfilling of his commaunds.

3. To performe by offices and ministeries personall workes to the king, especially in expeditions to the confines of the kingdome, in case of defence.

4. Not to deny reall services, as those who antiently were tributary; without tergiversation to pay, and to transport to such place as the king shall appoint, the just and yearly pentions.

As part of the kingly office, they have an antient custome, that after his inauguration, the king rides a circuit about the kingdome, called by them *Ericksfatu sina riida*, “Riding about Eric’s streete;” so called from Eric I. or other



other of his name, who rode this circuit first; or from Saint Eric IX. who made lawes for it; that in imitation of the course of the sun, it should be from east to west, beginning att Upland, &c. and ending att Upsale. The cause of this circuit is sayd to be, that the king should confirme his subjects of his observation of his oath and compacts with them; and that his subjects should make faith of their homage, as they call it, and of their oath taken to the king. In this circuit also, the king exerciseth judgement, decides causes, either by himselfe or his deputies; takes away controversies, and ordereth all matters.

The powers of the king and kingly office in Sweden, are summed up together to this effect.

“The king is one to whome it belongs to promote and defend religion; to have in his power forts, castles, and provinces, and to maintaine every right of his crowne according to lawe.

He is God’s vicar, not acknowledging any superior on earth: he is the highest interpreter of lawe, and inspector and revisor of all judgements; he hath power of life and death according to lawe; he constitutes magistrates, and gives them jurisdiction; he creates and graunts fees to princes, dukes, earles, barons, nobles, and knights; gives power by delegates of making doctors, licentiates, and masters of art. He gives pardons, safe conducts, licence of ordaining publique posts; hath the supreame power of the treasury; graunts privileges to those places where armes are made; hath power of the publique wayes, and to keep them safe from robbers; and of the publique rivers, with their revenews and havens, and to dispose the tolles in them; he coines, and gives power to coine monies; takes fines and mulcts in part, or all of them; erects forts and castles, builds townes, and graunts power of building them; and hath supreame power of the mines of mettles.”

#### C H A P. VII.

##### *Of the publique Rights of the People of Sweden.*

**A**S the king hath his powers according as the law hath settled them in his office, so is he limited by that lawe in such a manner, that the publique rights of the people may not be taken away or violated; therefore, it is sayd in the old oaths of the king, “that he shall rule by the counsell of the peeres.”

*Et salva libertate populi.* “And saving the liberty of the people.”

And in a latter oath is a *salvo jure populi.* “Saving of the right of the people.”

The rights of the people are either spirituall or civill: their spirituall rights consisted in the worship and service of God, and in the conservation of their religion, which could not be altered without their consents; and wherof they were so jealous in all times, that in the midst of Paganisme, their king Grimmerus, for spoiling the gods att Upsale, was, by connivence of his subjects,



jects, strangled with an iron chayne; afterwards one of their best kings, Stenchillus, for endeavouring to change the religion, and to introduce Christianity, was impiously putt to death by the people. The Lutherane religion was brought in by publique act of their ricksdagh; and king Sigismund deposed for not conforming therunto: and their kings are bound by oath to observe the same; and to depart from it renders them uncapable of the crowne.

The civill rights are such as relate either to the persons, or estates of the people: as to their persons, the lawe is, and the king, by his oath, promiseth not to hurt or damnify any as to life, body, or member, butt such as are convicted and condemned according to the knowne lawes; and that he will free his people, and especially those who are peaceable and quiet, submitting to the lawes, and will defend them against unquiet and perverse countrymen, and against foreigners; and will cause them to be safe and secure who frequent the churches and the courts of justice, both there and in their journey going and returning; and the women and every one else in their owne houses.

None is compelled to serve in person in the warres out of the kingdome, without a lawe made by their ricksdagh for that purpose; butt are bound to goe to the confines of the kingdome for defence thereof. And as for forein warre and peace, the king cannot make any, but *ordinum suffragio præmissio*; "the suffrage of the estates præmised;" which is a great right belonging to the persons of the people: as that also is, that none may be imprisoned butt according to the knowne lawes.

As to the rights of the people relating to their estates, every one enjoyes his property according to the lawe; nor can the king himselfe invade or destroy that property by imposing burdens upon them, unlesse graunted by their owne consent, in their supream counsell the ricksdagh.

*Vestigalia et tributa ex ordinum consensu ordinat, extraordinariasq; contributiones exigente necessitate, juxta leges injungit. ib.* "He ordains tolles and tributes by consent of the estates, and injoynes extraordinary contributions upon urgent necessity according to the lawe;" and no otherwise can the king do it.

*Nulla regionibus suis nova onera impositurus.* "The king can impose no new burdens upon the countrey, except upon these conditions, for the averting a forein enemy, Pagan or Christian; or for the appeasing sedition att home, if otherwise he cannot defend himselfe: also for the marriage of the king's son or daughter; for the coronation, or Eric's circuit; lastly, for building the king's houses or farmes. In which cases, it belonged to the bishop, with the lageman of every province, and sixe of the equestrian order, and as many countrymen, [who] are to consider among themselves, how much ayde is fitt, and ought to be given by the subjects to the king. And no generall taxe can be imposed, butt by assent of the people in their supream counsell the ricksdagh."

That his revenew may continue the more sure, and he have the lesse cause to grieve his subjects with taxes, he swears to keepe the goods of the crowne, and to live contented with his owne revenew; and that he shall not pawne the

forts,



forts, castles, provinces, or the demesne of Upsale, or other goods of the crowne, which time out of mind have belonged to the crowne, butt be contented with them for his maintenance: and some of their kings exacting uppon the people, and being covetous and oppressors of them, have bin severely dealt with by them; as King Wisbur, for his covetuousnes, perished by fire; King Domalder, for the same cause, was offered for a sacrifice to Ceres; King Gostag, for his rapines, was hanged; wherof their stories make mention.

That which includes all, and is a bulwarke to the peoples rights, is this; that no old lawe can be repealed or altered, nor any new lawe made, butt by consent of the people in their ricksdagh.

It is therefore part of the king's oath, to observe, confirme, and maintaine the lawe of Sweden; *liberis populi votis atq; consensu receptum*, "received by the free votes and consent of the people; and that no new lawe be made nisi populi voluntate, et consensu, &c. butt by the people's will and consent." In another place our author saith, *quod rex cum consensu populi decrevit, legis habuit vigorem*, "that which the king decrees with the consent of the people, hath the force of a lawe." But it must be with consent of the people, or else it hath not the force of a lawe: the manner of their making of lawes, and the peoples giving of their consent, is thus expressed.

The king proposeth to the consideration of the ricks senators, *majoris momenti negocia ut de bello, pace, legibus, &c.* "the busineses of greatest moment, as of warre, peace, lawes, &c." which, being deliberated uppon by them, are referred unto the people, who allowe or disallowe of them; the king confirms those which by the people are *statuta et stabilita*, made statutes and established: so that all matters of greatest weight were dispatched with the counsell of the chiefe men, and by consent of the people.

Agreeable heerwith is that passage in the chapter of their written lawes, which needes no repetition: and what was antiently done to have the peoples consent to lawes, in the provinces, is now done in their publique councells, the ricksdaghs.

## C H A P. VIII.

### *Of the Senators of Sweden.*

**T**HE councell and judicatorie of the senators of Sweden is in power and eminency next unto the supreame councell or judicatorie of the kingdome, the ricksdagh.

Of the ricksdagh, nothing is mentioned in this place, it being perticularly reserved for another, more proper for the subject\*.

Of the senators of Sweden it is sayd, that they are *proximi regi in regni administratione*. "Next to the king in the government of the kingdome:" that their number is ordinarily twenty-five, att this time one and fourty.

\* See the author's notes on the Writ of Summons, to the English parliament, Vol. I. p. 222, 236. Vol. II. p. 74, 233, 247, 315, 345. Edit. 1766.



Their ducty is to admonish the king of the rights of the kingdome; and according to their power, to perswade him to those things that are profitable to him and his people; and to confirme the estates and people in their faith and obedience; and to referre and faithfully to dispatch all things committed to them in an ordinary and extraordinary way, for the dignity and benefit of the king and kingdome.

They dayly hold consultations with his majesty in a councill chamber; and among them the five supream officers and chiefe presidents, eminent in principall authority, take care of the buisnesses belonging to their respective colledges or counsell, which they, with their assessors, doe handle in a collegiate way, saving the right and preheminance of the king. By their counsell and assent the ricksdagh is summoned: and when they are assembled, the senators have their places on each side of the chayre of state, butt have no suffrage, as members of that councill; only uppon difference of opinion betweene any of the severall estates, they are imployed by the king in the nature of committees of conferre with the dissenting state, and to endeavour to reconcile them.

They are also usually appointed by the king, such of them as he pleases to nominate, to be delegates for the deciding of matters uppon appeals, by commission of review; and are counsellors to the king and kingdome in all buisnesses relating to warre and peace, leagues, treatyes, sending forth of publique ministers, and generally in all matters relating to the peace and government of the kingdome.

#### C H A P. IV.

##### *Of the Colledge of Justice.*

**T**HE next councill and judicatory unto the senate, is that of the councill or colledge of justice, which they call Hoffratt, to the which belong all judiciall matters, and forein causes directly subject to the cognisance of the king, or devolved hither by appeale, whence it is called regium judicium, the king's judgement. Some doe suppose this colledge to have bin in the place of an antient judicatorie in the countreyes, which is called tribunal regium, Konungs namd, the King's Bench, or named judges of the king; in which court, either the king himselfe, or the sworne judges in his name, pronounced the lawe; and from thence there was no appeale.

In this colledge of justice, the sentences and decrees of inferior courts are reviewed and examined; in doubtfull cases of criminall matters of life and death, the lawe is heere declared: appeales are made hither from dutchies, counties, baronies, provinces, and cittyes, in causes of such a value as is appointed by the lawe; treasons are heere adjudged, and complaints of justice denied in inferior courts and in priveleged places; and in cases which cannot be determined by the university senates, the finale sentence is heere given,



either upon petition, or by leave from the parlement, by the benefit of revision from the king; a certaine some of money being first deposited, which the colledge retaines, whither the sentence be approved or reversed.

### C H A P. V.

#### *Of the Colledge of Warre.*

**A**S in the colledge of justice, the ricks drotzet, that is, the chiefe justice of the kingdome, is the president, and hath severall senators and others for his assessors; so, in the colledge of warre, which is the second councill or colledge, the ricks marshall, or feldthere, that is, the marshall of the kingdome, or lord of the field, the generall of the army, is the president, whose assessors ordinarily are two ricks senators, and military men, and fower other warlike officers. Of this senate are the field marshalls and the generalls of the watches and army, who have their under officers. To this colledge belongs the inspection of all the militia, of the marching and standing forces throughout the whole kingdome, and the provinces subject thereunto; and of all matters belonging to the warre, men, ammunition, armes, musters, wages, provisions, and other things necessary for warre, for the campe and fortified places.

In expeditions, campes, and forts, the soldiers use a peculiar lawe, by articles of warre, according to which the first instance is before the inferior officer or collonell, and his assessors; the second is before the marshall, or his deputy a feldt marshall, assisted with severall other generall officers of the army, who have their scribes and notaries. To the highest court of warre belong matters of treason, and other greater crimes; and by appeale are devolved to this colledge all matters touching the soldiery, which amount to the value of five hundred dollars and above: they have an officer of justice, citing the parties accused att the presidents commaund, and a generall executioner with a deputy and fiscall, who are the accusers.

The foote soldiers are chosen out of the common people; the tenth or twentieth man, as the lawe directs: the horsmen out of the gentry; and, as they obtaine immunityes in respect of their estates.

### C H A P. VI.

#### *Of the Colledge of Admiraltie.*

**T**HE third councill or colledge is that of the admiraltie, for navall affayres, where the ricks admirall is president: his assessors are two of the ricks senators, most experienced in the sea affayres, with fower vice admiralls and antient sea captains, who have under them a secretary, a notary, clerkes, and a fiscall.

To



To this colledge appertaines the care of the shippes of warre, together in a fleet, or separate; to have an account of all shippes, great and smalle; of the building, furnishing, and repaying of them; and of all armes, ammunition, provision, and things requisite for the navy: that uppon all occasions they may foresee what will be for the good of the kingdome; and may order all things for the benefit therof.

They advise the king in all matters belonging to the navy royall, and give an account therof, when requisite, unto the senate: butt all matters of ordinary consequence relating to the fleet of the crown, and all men of warre in the service therof, are ordered and determined by this councell.

The seamen have also perticular articles or lawes for the government of them; and lesser offences are adjudged by the inferior officers of the fleet according to those articles; the greater matters by the admirall, or his deputy and assessors.

In all other things which doe not concerne the sea or land military service, both the marriners and soldiery, when they are att home, are subject only to the common lawe and judiciall proceffe. The marriners are chosen out of the coast townes and countryes.

#### C H A P. VII.

##### *Of the Colledge of the Chancery.*

**T**HIS of the chancery is the fowrth councell or colledge, wherof the chancellor of the kingdome; the ricks chancellor, is the president, who hath the custody of the great seale of Sweden: he hath fower assessors ricks senators, the chancellor of the king's court, with two secretaries of state of the nobility.

To this colledge doe belong all the secretaries, of whome one is for domestick or Swedish affaires; another for the affaires of Finland and Livonia; another for those of Germany, and communications with forein princes; another for consultations; another for revisions; another for the antient buisnes of the chancery: they have also their referendaries, who, uppon a complaint made to the king in the nature of an appeale, or prayer of a review, these referendaries peruse the proceedings in the inferior court, out of which, and the depositions taken, they state the case and whole matter for the judgment of the king, and such delegates as he shall, by his commission, appoint for the review of that cause; and of these commissioners of review, commonly the chancellor and his assessors of this colledge are part of the number.

In this colledge, the usuall legall proces is framed; and from hence some of them doe issue. Heere decrees, statutes, and ordinances are drawne and prepared; priviledges and instructions are signed; pacifications, leagues, ambassies, instructions and commissions of ambassadors, and all forein publick ministers sent from hence, are framed, confirmed, sealed, and recorded in



this place. And accords, and leagues with forein princes and states are heere likewise enrolled; about which perticular, some debate was had with White-locke. Uppon the occasion, the treaty made with him, and his commission under the great seale of England, with his instructions, were left with the chancellor, to be recorded in this colledge.

Heere are held all publique consultations in matters pertaining to forein negotiations; which, the king and senate being acquainted with, theruppon direction is given for further proceedings.

All graunts, priviledges, patents, creations, and commissions are heere framed; and by the great seale of Sweden sealed, uppon warrant from the king to that purpose.

### C H A P. VIII.

#### *Of the Colledge of the Treasury.*

**T**H E first councill or colledge is that of the treasury, where the president is the ricks schatz mifter, or treasurer of the kingdome, who hath for his assessor two of the ricks senators, and two noble persons: and to this chamber of accounts, colledge, or treasury doth belong a secretary, a referendary, clerkes, and other inferior officers.

This colledge hath commaund over all those who are imployed about matters of the renew of the kingdome; from hence they receive their directions: and to this colledge they give an account of their service, and are a great number of officers, necessary in this very large country, to be made use of in collecting and bringing in the publique renew of this crowne.

This colledge takes the care and charge of bringing into the treasury all the tolles, customes, rents of farmes, profits of estates, perquisites, and all matters of money belonging to the crowne: and they esteeme it to be their duty, to see that the renew be increased, and not diminished, and that the monies coming in be profitably expended, and the king not defrauded. Heere is the place for all receipts and payments of the publique monies; according as they receive warrant from his majesty, they pay the salaries of officers, defray the charges of the other colledges, and provide for all necessary occasions.

There is likewise a peculiar colledge of the mines, which hath a relation to this colledge of the treasury, yett hath its perticular statutes and instructions, and hath publique priviledges; butt the profit and moneys arising by the mines is answered to the colledge of the treasury.



## C H A P. IX.

*Of the Colledge of Trade.*

**O**F late yeares in this kingdome, they have erected a fixt councell or colledge, which they call the colledge of trade, wherof the president is one of the ricks senators, whomit shall please the king to appoint; and he hath likewise one or two of the ricks senators for his assessors, and three or fower other persons, out of whome the king names a vice president: they have also their secretary, clerkes, and other inferior officers.

In former ages the people of this countrey, especially the nobles, did not so much apply themselves to the knowledge or service of the buisnes of trade, as of late times they have done; and hence it came to passe, that the king Gustavus the Great, growing a great patron and encourager of trade, divers of his great men and nobles did the like. He sett up the towne of Gottenburgh to be a staple of trade; graunted priviledges to any persons who would build and settle there; brought thither many of the most buisy traders of the world, the Netherlanders; and lived to see the flourishing of that towne, and the trade of it.

This gave occasion of erecting the colledge of trade, whose buisnes is to consult about, and to endeavour the encouragement and increase of trade, navigation, and merchandise with the people of this kingdome: and to give examples to them, the ricks chancellor himselfe, his sons, and friends, and severall of the nobility and gentry became parties in the companies of merchants, and adventurers in trade with them; which occasioned some trouble to Whitelocke in his negotiation, perticularly uppon the point of contrebande goods, and prizes taken by the English men of warre from the Swedes, wherof they made no smalle complaint. And by this colledge of trade they have much increased the commerce of the nation, to incourage and promote which is wisdom in any governors, especially over islanders.

## C H A P. X.

*Of the Officers in Sweden.*

**O**F most of the officers in Sweden discourse hath bin already had. Those five great and chiefe officers or presidents before mentioned, the chiefe justice, the marshall, the admirall, the chancellor and the treasurer, in the absence, sicknes, minority, or interregnum of the king, are governors of the kingdome, and tutors to the king; as they were lately in the minority of the queen Christina.

There be other great officers of state belonging to the king and crowne of Sweden, as the marshall of the king's house, who is usually a senator; he orders the ceremonies att publique meetings, and in solemne nuptialls and feasts; he receives ambassadors, and takes care for their entertainment; he summons the senate by

N. B. Here the Manuscript ends abruptly.



## N U M B E R III.

## N O T E S

CONCERNING THE STATE OF THE COMMON-WEALTH OF  
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND,

AT THE TIME OF WHITELOCKE'S EMBASSY TO SWEDEN:

TRANSCRIBED FROM HIS LARGER MANUSCRIPT OF THE EMBASSY, IN MY POSSESSION;

IN THE HAND WRITING (SEEMINGLY) OF AN AMANUENSIS.

## W H I T E L O C K E ' s L A R G E R M S .

PAGE FIRST TO PAGE SIXTH.

**I**N *The Interest of Christendome*, by the Duke de Rohan, he saith; that England, est un grand animal qui ne peut jamais mourir, s'il ne se tue lui même, p. 294. "is a great creature which can never die, unless it kill itself." Near to this condition had it brought itself, a little before this embassy, almost to the last gasp, by labouring to kill and destroy itself.

When the head warred against the members; the king against the parliament; and the members against the head, and against each other.

The judgment of Petrarch is, that in a civil war res publica in extremo est, "the commonwealth is at the last gasp." And so was England; had not our mighty deliverer eminently appeared for us, and saved us from utter ruin.

The miseries of civil wars have been great, and often laid upon these nations as a punishment for our sins; as the stories of our country sadly do relate, and begin with the eldest of our times. In the reign of our antient British king Leyl the First, we find civil discords; and very often we read of them in the time of his British successors.

We read of great and bloody civil wars in many of the Saxon kings reigns, to the last of them, Edward the Confessor with Earl Godwin, and his accomplices.

After the time of Duke William, our stories mention those in the time of H. II. The Barons wars in the time of King John, and H. III. and those of the dissention between the two houses of York and Lancaster, continued till the union made by H. VII.

But



But beyond all were our late distractions. The former civil wars were sometimes for the conformation of Magna Charta, and the laws and liberties of the people: and when those were conformed, the war was ended.

Sometimes those discords arose, whether an Edward or a Henry should be king, or the like; and when either gained a battle, the war was at an end, whilst power lasted.

But our late flames burned a long time without intermission; and yet at length it pleased God, by a powerfull army, to redeem us.

We read of no nation which at some time or other hath not been under the calamities of civil wars.

The people of Israel were not exempt from it, as we find—*2 Samuel* iii. 1. the 1. of *Kings*, xiv. and xv. ver. 6, 7, 16, 32, &c.

“There were long wars between the house of Saul, and the house of David; between Rehobaham and Jereboham all their days; between Abijah and Jerobaham; between Ahab and Baasha;” and others.

The Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Græcians, Romans, and all our later and neighbouring nations, have been under this great judgment; the calamities whereof are described by that heroick poet Lucan, and need no addition.

*Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos, &c.*

In the late civil wars of these nations, both parties appealed to the Lord of Hosts. And after a long and chargeable prosecution, both in blood and treasure, and each party often struggling for breath and being, at the length it pleased the God of battles to determine for the parliament party; and to bestow a full and blessed peace upon the inhabitants of this nation, which at the time of this ambassy they enjoyed; and may they enjoy it, till time shall be no more!

At this time our God had made peace within our borders, and had sent us plenty; had filled us with the finest of wheat; he had given us peace within our walls, and prosperity within our palaces. How ought the people of these nations to bless his name, who hath thus redeemed them from their great troubles; to endeavour by all good means the preservation of peace and unity among ourselves; and to avoid all occasions which may tend to the renewing of them: and they have the more cause to be sensible of this mercy, and to be thankful for it, by reason of the calamities suffered by them in the former want of it. And certainly, no people have ever had more cause than we, to value this our peace; who have it bestowed on us so much beyond our desert, or expectations.

It is a scurrilous abuse by those who say, that the king of England is *Rex Diabolorum*, a King of Devils. But some of them do explain it in this sense, that they are not apt to be moved, and to rise in tumults: but, being once up, it is very difficult to pacify their provoked spirits.

All the time of this ambassy they were more quiet than ordinary. They had been wearied with a fierce, bloody, tiresome, long civil war; and had  
now



now the blessing of peace. Not apt to fall again into the miseries of war, they seemed to be of the mind of the Romans after the battle of Pharfalia, *Tuta et præsentia, quam vetera et periculosa mallent.* Tacit. Annal. l. 1. "They rather chose a present security, than a hazardous endeavour for a recovery of their ancient rights." This caused them, with so much quiet, to submit to their several great changes in government brought upon them; as the putting down of kingship; setting aside the lords house in parliament; resolving themselves into a democracy; then that parliament constrained to dissolve, and the council of state, by them appointed, driven off the stage.

Yet no tumults or insurrections upon any of these occasions, how ungrateful soever not to a few. And this calm, and quiet in mens spirits, not only caused by the awe of a good standing army: but, somewhat likewise through their past sufferings, the dread of falling again into them, and the peaceable and quiet spirits and dispositions of the people who, under every several sort of power and government, paid their taxes, and obeyed their laws; and were contented with any present safety, government and governors, rather than by the hazard of another war, to attempt the perilous recovery of their antient rights and customes.

At the time of this ambassy, the antient formes of government, both as to head and members, were set aside. Kings, who were the head of this nation and commonwealth, were by this parliament abolished, and the parliament itself separated. But the lord general Cromwell, who had been constituted by authority of parliament captain general of the army, when others refused, had undertaken to lead them forth against their enemies, and to fight their battles.

At this time Cromwell was their chief magistrate, and head of these nations, as he was of the army; that great and high honour falling to him, who had been so successful in his undertakings, done so great services: and none more eminent for that power and place then himself, who had been a principal instrument for recovery of our peace; and was now the people's chief magistrate, their head and governor; which he continued during his lifetime, and left it by authority of parliament, who had confirmed him, to his son after him.

The business of Jephthah was in some passages thereof not unlike to this; it is recited *Judges*, ch. xi. ver. 1, &c. *The people and princes of Gilead said one to another (in consultation) what man is he that will fight for us against the children of Ammon? he shall be head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.* The dutch notes upon this place say, that the meaning is, He that shall do this, shall be commander in chiefe. The english notes published in the year 1651, say, upon this place; who will undertake to be our leader in this expedition, and he shall for ever after be our general, judge, and governor; and when others refused, and would not accept it, they sent to Jephthah, being of known valour, and a good commander, ch. xi. ver. 11. it is said, *that Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and captain over them: and Jephthah uttered all his words before the Lord in Mispah; not before the Ark*



Ark of the Covenant, but in the general assembly of the people in the publick council, their choice, and his declaration was made.

He fought their battles; procured them rest from their enemies; refused taking no hazard for them; and was confirmed in the government of chief magistrate and judge of Israel during his life. Some versions render him the ruler, others the duke, the general, the prince, the judge, and chief magistrate over the people; and all do agree in the word (head) over them: the like may be enforced of the rest of the worthy judges of Israel.

Cromwell, as head of the nation, appoints a privy council or council of state, to advise in matters pertaining to the preservation of the peace, safety, and commerce of the commonwealth, and for foreign affairs. He likewise by letters summoned divers select persons, whom he and his council thought fit to choose, and whom they esteemed men of piety, integrity, and abilities to advise; and to act such things, as might conduce to the bringing of these nations to a good settlement and consistency; and to reform the errors and abuses in government; and to do what belonged to a publick council of the commonwealth.

These gentlemen assembled together in the commons house of parliament, according to their summons, where they choose a speaker; and intitled themselves to the name and authority of the parliament of England, as if they had been chosen by the people thereof, and trusted by them as their representatives.

They imposed taxes, enacted new laws, took cognizance of all parliamentary matters, received petitions, sent for parties, took consideration of matters of peace and war, and of foreign negotiations, and in particular of sending an ambassador to the crown of Sweden.

At the time of this ambassy the commonwealth had peace at home, but was, upon a small occasion, engaged in a fierce naval war with their neighbours, the high and mighty lords and seamen of the United Provinces: between both states there had been several bloody encounters, in which God had given the English great success; and at sea they prevailed over their potent sea adversaries.

They were also at difference with the king of Denmark, who had injured them, and shewed himself their enemy. They had no friendship; but casual encounters at sea, and actions of enmity between us, and no redress from them.

The king of Spain was in alliance with the commonwealth, had acknowledged their republic early and respectfully; which was not to his disadvantage, nor desires by him to be altered.

The crown of Sweden had testified much respect to this state, had not assisted any of our enemies against us, had sent several publick ministers hither; and one was at this time residing here, but had received no return from hence, save only by a gentleman, an envoy, with letters to the queen of complement and ceremony, Mr. ——— brother to the lord commissioner ———, who was entertained by her majesty and her court with more than ordinary respect and favour.



These and other motives induced Cromwell and his council to judge it requisite, to nominate one to be sent ambaffador extraordinary to the queen of Sweden, to make an alliance with that crown. And Whitelocke was pitched upon by them, as a person fit for that trust and employment; and was by unanimous assent of the council named for it.

#### N U M B E R I V.

#### W H I T E L O C K E ' s L A R G E R M S.

From Page 15, to Page 16.

#### N O T E S C O N C E R N I N G T H E D U T Y O F A N A M B A S S A D O R.

**A**N ambaffador properly is the messenger of his prince or state, to a foreign prince or state, about matters of publick and greatest consequence and concernment. He is an officer, *qui publice tectus, publice etiam missus, negotium publicum, publica autoritate peregre agit*, "who being publickly sent, doth transact abroad the publick affairs, by publick authority."

He is precisely to observe the instructions and commands given unto him, and not to exceed the bounds of his commands. And though this clause were in it, *legati quicquid præterea utiliter erit agunto*, "let ambaffadors further do what profitably they can;" this (saith Aeschines) belongs to those things, which were commanded by name.

The Athenians were very severe, when they put to death their ambaffadors, because they had gone another way then that they were directed, though otherwise they had duly performed their commands.

Arodian in his decrees hath this title, *Legatum ab eo ad quem missus est munera accipere; neque principis sui dignitatem, locum, auctoritatem conservare, capitale est*. "It is capital for an ambaffador to take rewards from him to whom he is sent; or not to conserve the dignity, place, and authority of his prince."

(See) Xenophon l. 7. Demosth. Phil. 3. Valerius Maximus l. 6. c. 3. Plutarchi Pelop. Where examples of this nature are to be found: as that of Timagoras, who complementing the king to whom he was sent, did, after the manner of that nation, flatter the king; for which he was represented, as thereby diminishing the majesty of the Athenians, and subjecting of it in a manner to the Persian domination. And of Demades, fined at ten talents; because, when he was ambaffador, he put Alexander in the place of God. With other examples of the like nature; testifying the office and charge of an ambaffador, to be high and hazardous; intrusted with the greatest and most difficult affairs relating to the safety, honour, and interest of his prince and country.

C O N T I-



## CONTINUATION OF THE NOTES CONCERNING AMBASSADORS.

From Page 40, to Page 45.

**I**N prudence, an ambassador, he is to acquaint himself with the institutions, laws, and privileges of his country, and with the rights, titles, and hopes of his prince's crown; and with what usurpations and injuries foreigners may disturb the estate of his master: he is to endeavour to know the names and situation of provinces, cities, castles, and the rarities in them; and the pedigrees of his country's nobility; which will add delight and belief to his discourse.

He is also to inform himself of the face and government of that country to which he is sent; the avenues by sea and land; where it is strong, where weak; where dangerous to an enemy; what fortifications it hath by art or nature; what the laws and privileges of the people are; what the trade is; what their militia; their revenue and taxes, whether grievous: what the affections of the people; what factions of the multitude or great men, whether upon grounds of rule, or religion; what their foreign leagues are; whether their councils depend only upon the prince, or upon the state of the country. And herein he must be wary, lest he cause jealousy of his diving into the secrets of another state; but he must commend what is commendable, and create a belief of his good wishes and affections to them.

He is in prudence to study the disposition and nature of the prince; what he is most delighted with; what most addicted to; whether elective or hereditary; how he is enabled to arms; how he useth to observe leagues.

To observe and make application to those who are most in his favour; to know how other ambassadors have been received.

In prudence he ought to instruct himself of the manners and government of other nations, to make use of them in his debates and councils; to study men, and the several natures and inclinations of people; each country affording variety to its inhabitants of disposition and manners different from another.

Ingenuity is taken for a freeness and nobleness of carriage, as we say, gentleman like, when one speaks ingenuously; that is, he speaks ut liberum hominem decet, Cicer. ad Metel. "as becomes a free man;" ita ut nihil timide dicat, aut quod se minus dignum sit, ib. "so that he speaks nothing timorously, or what is unworthy of him;" but speaks libere, audacter simpliciterque, ib.

To speak freely, boldly, and plainly, is a way becoming both the person and business of an ambassador, and will purchase the more credit and honour with those whom he hath to deal with.



As he is not to publish every thing that he knows, so he is not to declare any thing contrary to his knowledge; but all things in plainness and clearness of truth, which cannot be contradicted, nor is liable to shame and penitence.

It is good advice to an ambassador, not to play with others, so as to make himself ridiculous; and is, si acutus esse volet, videat ut cautus sit; "let him mix caution with acuteness, and gravity with ingenuity."

They must not answer like that ambassador to the king of the Moores, who, finding fault that his titles were not given him in the credentials, asked, what sew brought them forth? the ambassador answered, then you will not eat them; the Moores abstaining from swines flesh: but, exasperated with this answer, they fell upon the ambassador with many blows.

The answer of the ambassador, who demanded for his prince the title of Serenissimus, from Charles the Emperor, but could not obtain it, was ingenious and inoffensive.

He came to take leave of the Emperor in a day when it thundered and lightened extreamly. The Emperor asked him, why he would not stay until the weather were more serene? the ambassador answered, that he feared no tempests in that country, where the Emperor had made all so serene; until he should come home to his own master.

In the business of an ambassador is comprehended the good and safety of his prince and country; and therefore the qualification of diligence expressed in the commission is most necessary, as Plautus hath it, curate hæc salutis magna diligentia: in Rud. "take care of these matters of safety with great diligence," which surely an ambassador ought to do.

Diligence is said to refine both the body and mind. Care to the mind, in considering and contriving, and labour to the body to act and bring to effect his matters: and he who is not diligent, is compared to the prodigal in Terence; Pol mei patris parta bene indiligenter curantur, in Phorm. "Truly the estate of my father which was gotten well, is not carefully looked into." An ambassador is to use such diligence, as to leave no stone unturned to effect his business, to which he is to apply. Et industriæ celeritatem et diligentiam quandam moram. Marsel. p. 158. "Both the speed of industry, and a kind of deferring diligence;" and doubtless that old and good temper of ———, make haste slowly is the best diligence.

Like to that emblem of Octavianus, a dolphin tied to an anchor.

Livy condemns rashness. Omnia non properanti clara certaq; sunt, festinato improvida et cæca. "All things are clear and certain to those who do not make over much haste, which commonly is improvident and blind."

An ambassador is in a high place; and from thence one must discern by degrees, or else he falls. Diligence consisteth not in precipitation, but in a constant care and action, losing no advantages or opportunities tending to the advancement of that affair wherewith one is intrusted. An ambassador's diligence is to be according to the advice of Joshua to the Rubenites, &c. Jos. xxii. 5. *Take diligent heed to do the commandments, &c.* and this is the true way to



to preferment, as is asserted *Prov. xii. 24. The hand of the diligent shall bear rule; and Prov. xxii. 29. Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men.*

The idol of the Sabines was three images in one; a man, a woman, and a child: the man denoted honour, the woman truth, and the child love.

The office of an ambassador is a great honour; joined with truth it represents fidelity; and from this bond ariseth love: as love of the prince to his ambassador; love of the ambassador to his prince; and love of both towards the commonwealth.

He may better want a tongue, than fidelity.

The example of Metrodorus is to be observed; who, being sent to Tigranes to persuade him to join with Mithridates, whose ambassador he was: Tigranes, doubtful what to resolve, asked Metrodorus his opinion? who made this answer, *Publice quidem atq; legatus suadeo, privatim vero ut Metrodorus dissuadeo.* “Publicly, and as an ambassador, I persuade it; but privately, as Metrodorus, I dissuade it.”

Thus perfidiously did he deal, who was not sent as a counsellor to Tigranes, but as an ambassador. The punishment due to such infidelity was justly laid upon Antiphon the Athenian ambassador to Sparta, whom he assisted against his own countrymen, and therefore had his house demolished, part of his family punished, and the rest noted with perpetual infamy.

An ambassador ought not only to be faithful himself, but to detest infidelity in others; like to Frabicius, ambassador to Pyrrhus; who, being offered by Nicias, the king's physician, for a sum of money to poison the king, brought back Nicias to the senate, and procured them to send him back to his master with this letter.

“Thy servant Nicias demanding a sword of us to murder thee, we were so far from consenting thereto, that we have remitted him to thy censure whom he hath offended. We would that thou shouldst be in safety, that we might have the more potent adversary with whom to deal.”

It was justly done of Constantius, when, for trial of the Christians, he ordained, that all of them who would return to their country's superstition, should remain there and be honoured; and those that would not, should be exiled. When thereupon many of them worshipped their idols again, but others remained faithful to the profession of Christianity; which the Emperor approving, continued them in their professions, and banished those that were unfaithful. There can be no better decision of this, than that of the wise man, *Prov. xiii. 17. A wicked messenger falleth into mischief, but a faithful ambassador is health.*

The example of integrity is in the description of Pomponius, ambassador to the Lacedemonians, who is said to be thrifty, but not covetous; constant, but wilful; modest, but not morose nor troublesome; easy of access, and facetious, not scurrilous; grave, but not proud; and as the character is given of Fabricius, the ambassador to Pyrrhus, *neque blanditias regis neq; irritamenta æstimat.* “He valued not either the persuasions or threats of the king;”

he



he refused his gifts, and left behind him the testimonies of a mind despising those things; quibus imbecilli potissimum subruuntur, "by which weak men are chiefly overcome." This was integrity indeed, and worthy of imitation. Jurymen with us ought to be, probi et legales homines, "honest and lawful men, and men that are uncorrupt." An ambassador surely ought to be an honest, good, uncorrupt man, a man of integrity. Integer vitæ scelerisque purus. Such an ambassador ought to be chosen, if such a man can be found, or such a one that comes nearest to this integrity.

## N U M B E R V.

### A MORE PARTICULAR CHARACTER OF THE AMBASSADOR'S TRAIN,

### FROM WHITELOCKE'S LARGER MS.

Page 32 to Page 36.

**M**R. Nathaniel Ingelo, a fellow of Eaton Colledge, one of his chaplains, a person of admirable abilities in the work of the ministry, and of honest life and pleasing. A well studied scholar, perfect in the Latin tongue, conversant in the Greek and Hebrew, and could speak good Italian: he was much delighted in musick, as Whitelocke himself was; and carried persons and instruments with him for that recreation, whereof he made Mr. Ingelo the master.

Mr. Charles de la March, another of Whitelocke's chaplains, a native of Guernsey, who had travailed in most parts of Christendome; he had the French naturally; the Latin most readily: he was of an extraordinary hardy constitution, and good disposition.

Daniel Whistler, doctor of physick, of excellent knowledge and success in his faculty; he had been formerly employed by the Parliament, and gained great experience about their seamen: he was persuaded to go with Whitelocke in this voyage, by doctor Winston, Whitelocke's most affectionate friend; he had as much elegancy both in speaking, especially in writing of Latin, as any person whatsoever: he spoke good French, and understood the High Dutch and Italian, and was exceeding tender and careful of Whitelocke, and of all his company.

John Walker, Esq; steward of his house, an honest gentleman, and a barrister at law: he had something of the French, High Dutch, and Latin; was faithful in his place, respectful to Whitelocke.

Daniel Earle, Esq; menial servant to Whitelocke, his chief secretary, an antient, faithful, and affectionate servant, who left his wife and children, and a good



a good fortune, to follow his master, resolved to run the same hazards, and was at great charge in fitting himself for this journey, which he did not sparingly, but to his master's honour and his own credit. He had the French tongue, and understood Latin; and had gained much experience as secretary to the commissioners of the seal.

William Swift, menial servant to Whitelocke, his second secretary, and of as good abilities for that place as any one in England: he spake French well, and wrote and spake good Latin, and wrote a singular good hand. He had the faculty to draw up the sense of what was said to him in a most exact way. He was a faithful, loving, and able servant.

Mr. Robert Stapleton, Gent. of horse to Whitelocke, an ingenious civil person, very sober and discreet, a good scholar, and able to pray and preach well; he had the Latin tongue very well, and was good at governing those under his charge, and the rest of the family.

Mr. James Dewy, menial servant to Whitelocke, his gentleman usher, a sober proper young man, industrious to study law, and a good scholar; he had the Latin tongue readily.

Captain John Crisp, a discreet, grave, fashionable man, clerk of the stable, and one of the gentlemen sewers to Whitelocke.

Lieutenant George Hughs, a stout civil man, another of the gentlemen sewers.

Mr. John Preston, an able young man in his profession of an apothecary.

*Gentlemen of the First Degree attending Whitelocke.*

James Whitelocke, his eldest son, a captain of horse in the army, where he had served in Ireland, England, and Scotland seven or eight years, and not dishonoured himself. He was civil, and well educated and qualified, and a good scholar, ready in the Latin tongue.

William Whitelocke, his second son, a student in the Temple, not unhelpful, nor disorderly, nor wanting of industry and abilities; ready in the Latin tongue. The Lord gave them both his grace and blessing!

Major general Christopher Potley, a kinsman of Whitelocke's, an old soldier in Germany and Russia, under king Gustavus; who was the more willing to attend Whitelocke, hoping to obtain the easier way for some of his arrears there. He served the parliament in England, and was a stout and experienced soldier, well acquainted with the greater men of Sweden; and had the High Dutch tongue perfectly.

Mr. George Annesly, son to the Lord Viscount Valentia, of an honourable family, and good parts; he had a little of the French tongue.

Captain Richard Beake, of the army, and a countryman of Whitelocke's, eldest son of an esquire, of a good estate in Buckinghamshire: a civil, discreet and stout young gentleman, ingenious, and of good parts and conversation; had the French and Latin, and was affectionate to Whitelocke.

Captain Unton Croke, of the army, kinsman to Whitelocke, son of serjeant Croke, of an antient family in Oxfordshire, and of good parts and condition.

Mr.



Mr. Thomas Vavasour, eldest son of a knight, of a good family, and ingenious.

Mr. Sam. Burges, eldest son to doctor Cornel Burges.

Mr. Andrews, eldest son to an esquire of good estate in Hertfordshire, a gentleman of a very sober discreet conversation, and good parts. He had been a traveller; and spake good french and italian, and understood other languages.

Mr. Castle, eldest son to an esquire of good rank and estate in Cambridge-shire.

Mr. Samuel Moreland, a very civil man, and an excellent scholar; modest and respectful, perfect in the latin tongue; whom Whitelocke recommended, especially to the society of his son William.

Mr. Andrew Potley, a young gentleman, kinsman to Whitelocke, of very good parts, and stout. He spake high dutch perfectly; and had the french tongue. These gentlemen had all of them their servants waiting on them, to the number of about twenty-five, and all their laquies were in Whitelocke's livery.

*Gentlemen and Servants of the Second Rank.*

Mr. William de Vaux, of the bed-chamber to Whitelocke, an honest and affectionate menial servant to him. He spake good french and latin, and was ingenious for business.

Mr. John Taylor, of his chamber; a young man of good parts, but disorderly. He spake good dutch and french, and had some knowledge of the italian and latin; had been much abroad; and was very stout; rather subject to quarreling then otherwise.

William Fitzherbert, of Whitelocke's bed-chamber, a stout young man, and diligent.

Richard Ratcliffe, an honest old servant, and barber to Whitelocke.

Richard Meredith, had the high dutch well, and was Whitelocke's messenger.

John Smith, an honest civil man, and very skilful in all kinds of musick.

Thomas Maylard, very good at musick, and a serviceable man, and good writer.

Mr. Richard Studley, a sober useful servant, one of the army, whom Whitelocke imployed for buying of provisions and necessaries for his house, and a stout man.

Mr. John Fry, a trooper, and a very stout man.

Mr. William Davis, of the army, a very stout and civil man.

Mr. Henry Draper, of the army, a stout serviceable man.

Mr. Richard Banbury, also of the army. All these were men chosen out of several troops, civil men, and who had given testimony of their courage and good demeanor; fashionable men, and very ready and forward, and creditable in their services.

Thomas Parry, a young man of a good family and carriage and mein, one of Whitelocke's pages, and had the french tongue.

Henry



Henry Elsing, son of that excellent clerk of the parliament, a handsome young man, and another of the pages.

Charles Croke, son of serjeant Croke, kinsman to Whitelocke, one other of his pages.

Francis Newbury, son to a gentleman of Berkshire, a diligent youth, and one other of the pages.

*Gentlemen and Servants of the Third Rank.*

Robert Dunn, Robert Lewes, Thomas Briers, Robert Story, Hump. Murrey, Richard Cranke, Thomas Floyd, Arthur Hutton, all of the General's own regiment of foot; chosen men for civility and stoutness, and handsome fashionable men, lacqueis to Whitelocke.

Edward Simpson, one of the best trumpets of England, and a good chearful droller.

William Waters, another trumpeter to Whitelocke.

Richard Hall and Richard Dunn, chief cookes to Whitelocke, and their arts masters.

Henry Colington, menial servant to Whitelocke, his chief butler.

Christopher Ston, second butler.

Edward Ellis, an old affectionate menial servant to Whitelocke, his chief coachman, and very skilful in his office, and about horses.

Aurelius Newman, his postilion, who had the high dutch language.

Robert Aske, menial servant to Whitelocke, an honest good servant, and coachman.

Roger Lowe, his postilion

Nick Hughs and Thomas Hall, grooms, and good horsemen.

Francis Sharp and Nick Sharp, brothers, Buckinghamshire men, menial servants to Whitelocke, and helping in the stable.

Thomas Horne, menial servant to Whitelocke, his porter.

Sebastian Coral, an honest old fellow, the scullery-man.

Robert Coyle, baker and brewer.

There was besides for the laundry, Elizabeth Roberts, Susan Turner, and another woman, who were sent to look to the linnen, and to make broths in case of sickness, &c.

N U M B E R VI.

*Translation of the Commission under the Great Seal, Vol. I. p. 81.*

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England, unto all and every one to whom these our present letters shall come, greeting :

Whereas our antient liberty, by God's assistance, being recovered, and the commonwealth of England restored: it hath been in parliament enacted, and also published, That the people of England do both will and desire, and as



far as in them lies shall endeavour, that all leagues with foreign nations, either antiently or lately concluded, shall be inviolably preserved; or, if need be, again renewed: We therefore, that our intention so good and peaceable might not be made frustrate, have agreed to acquaint all commonwealths, states, princes, cities, and people, and especially the most excellent and renowned princess Christiana, by the grace of God queen of Sweden, &c. with this their good intention; with whom an antient and common engagement in the cause of religion, with a constant commerce and trade mutually driven on, to the content and profit of both, perswades to more strict union and confederacies. Know therefore, that We being abundantly satisfied of the wisdom, ingenuity, diligence, fidelity, and integrity of Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable of the castle of Windsor, and one of the keepers of the Great Seal of the commonwealth of England, have made, constituted, ordained, and appointed the above named Bulstrode Whitelocke our true and undoubted commissioner, deputy, and ambassador extraordinary for the aforesaid purpose; giving and granting unto him full power and authority, in our names, to treat with the above-named the most Excellent and most Serene Queen of Sweden; or whomsoever she shall invest with sufficient power thereunto: as also, to confirm and agree all things conducing to a stricter league of amity, and furtherance and increase of trade, between the commonwealth of England and the subjects of the crown of Sweden, according to those instructions which he hath from the parliament, or the council of state constituted by the parliament, already received, or for the future, by exprestes shall receive. Sincerely promising, that We of our parts shall ratify and confirm, and inviolably observe, whatsoever shall be concluded, in manner before specified, between the above-named the most Excellent and most Serene Queen of Sweden, or her deputies, and the above-named Bulstrode Whitelocke our extraordinary ambassador.

In witness whereof to these our letters, subscribed with the hand of the Speaker of our said parliament, We have caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the commonwealth of England, given at the parliament of Westminster, the 21st October, 1653.

FRANCIS ROUS, Speaker of the parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

## N U M B E R VII.

*Translation of Whitelocke's Credentials. Vol. I. p. 83.*

MOST SERENE QUEEN,

**I**T being esteemed a thing expedient and necessary, that those who tender the common welfare should communicate counsels with each other; and so, by mutual good offices, beget an increase of further friendship:

It



It hath therefore seemed good to the parliament of the commonwealth of England, upon these grounds, to dispatch unto your majesty the most Noble and Illustrious Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable of the castle of Windsor, and one of the keepers of the Great Seal of the commonwealth of England, our ambassador extraordinary, commissioned to treat with your majesty concerning affairs relating to the good of both nations.

We desire therefore your majesty friendly to receive our aforesaid ambassador extraordinary, and to grant him audience as often as he shall desire; and also to give full credit to what he shall propound on the behalf of this commonwealth: and so we wish your majesty health and prosperity.

Dated at Westminster, the 29th October, 1653. Subscribed, and the seal of the parliament affixed by,

FRANCIS ROUS, speaker of the parliament of the  
commonwealth of England.

*Original of the Address to Whitelocke. Vol. I. p. 142. A.*

EXcellentissime domine legate civitas Gottenburgensis cujus nos fervos esse profitemur, per nos excellentiam vestram plurima salute impertit; hicque locorum, ubi gratissimus est ejus adventus, quod appulerit gratulatur.

Acceptionis genus hic ut excusatum habeat excellentia vestra, id ipsis est in votis; fatentur se ita se non gessisse quatenus respectus et honoris erga tantum talisq; conditionis virum adhibendi ratio ferebat.

Imparia fuerunt omnia negotiationi à libera Anglica republica, ut et reginæ nostræ serenissimæ mandatis: menti et desiderio hujusce civitatis omnia longè subsidere. Subita inopinataq; nobis excellentiæ vestræ à nave sua descensio omnia debita officia antevertit.

Sperant tamen, quemadmodum rogant, excellentiam vestram nolit malè illud consulere; asserunt præterea, quamdiu licuerit in hac civitate commorari, et in ullo penes officio mandato nobis ab excellentia vestra imposito, in honore erga liberam Angliæ rempublicam, ergaq; ab ipsis legationi præpositum excellentiam vestram se nunquam defuturos.

Ita propter ipsorum felicitatem vota nuncupantes, ut in excellentia vestra ab ipsis commisso negotio prosperum successum peroptantes.

*Original of Whitelocke's Answer. Vol. I. p. 143. B.*

VIRI undiq; mihi honorandi, habeo vobis quamplurimas gratias, propterea quod hoc civili erga me ministrum respectu vestro, quo loco rempublicam Angliæ habeatis, re ipsa comprobastis. Non faciam quin supra hac re dominos meos certiores reddam, nec apud me in dubio est, quin si meus vobis inopinatus accessus factum non prætervertisset; omni modo par relationi vestræ mea apud vos receptio fuisset. Propterea ne crimini quæso vertetis, si jam à multo



tempore in mare agentibus, et à plurimis tum tempestatibus tum ventis, ex adverso agitatís, littus petendi desiderium altè infederit.

Spero brevi futurum, ut suæ majestati de receptionis meæ mandato gratias condignas referam; nec minùs dubito, quin idem et ipse bonus et maximus Deus, qui me, et comitatem meum usq; ex integro, in periculosa navigatione, incolumes servavit, sit nos etiam ultrò comitaturus, atque in negotio fidei meæ commisso ut et in aliis omnibus Anglicanæ republicæ rebus, gratiam suam sit indulturus.

*Original of Whitelocke's Letter to Prince Adolphus. Vol. I. p. 146. C.*

Ad Celsitudinem suam Magnum Magistrum Regni Sueciæ.

VIR ILLUSTRISSE,

**P**ROUT habui in mandatis a parlamento reipublicæ Angliæ, dominis meis, ut legationem obirem ad reginam vestram serenissimam, tandem Gottenburgum appulimus; quò suam majestatem conveniendi mihi spes erat, ex iis quæ à fide digno mihi in Anglia renuntiata sunt. Sed spe frustratus, et ignarus quo tendam ut munere imposito fungar; appositum duxi, per servum meum, hisce literis celsitudinem vestram de supradictis certiore facere: ut mihi gratificetur significatione loci, quo me recipiam, et serenissimæ reginæ me applicem, pro ratione commissionis et officii,

Gottenburgh,  
16th Nov. 1653.

Celsitudinis vestræ addictissimi,

B. WHITELOCKE.

*Original of Prince Adolphus's Letter to Whitelocke. Vol. I. p. 200. D.*

Ad Excellentissimum Parlamenti Reipublicæ Angliæ Legatum.

Excellentissime Domine Legate,

**R**Edditæ mihi sunt litteræ quibus significare voluit excellentia vestra Gothenburgum se appulisse, spe ibidem conveniendi serenissimam reginam nostram, impositq; legationis defungendi munere; nunc vero ea spe frustrata, et ignara quotendat ut pro ratione officii ac commissionis serenissimæ reginæ se applicare posset: atq; propterea à me expectare, ut certiore se faciam quonam se recipere posset. Huic excellentiæ vestræ desiderio ut satisfacerem, serenissimæ dominæ quæ de supradictis mecum communicavit excellentia vestra retuli; et fanè haud mediocri afficiebat serenissimam regiam majestatem gaudio, tanti legati adventus, ac tam prospero successu ejus peractum iter; mihiq; propterea imposuit, ut recipi curarem excellentiam vestram, eamq; certiore facerem, iter suum Ub-  
saliæ



faliā versus eam intendere posse. In hunc finem etiam præsentem ex aulicis serenissimæ regię majestatis nobilem, excellentiæ vestræ obviā mīsi, ut ille linguæ peritus monstrare iter, ac de rebus necessariis providere possit. De bonitate excellentiæ vestræ interim mihi promitto, quòd facile excusabit, si locorum conditio, ac status, per quas iter faciet, non admittit sicuti par erat recipere tantæ reipublicæ legatum. Cum vero itinere confecto huc advenerit excellentia vestra, omnis adhibebitur opera, ut omni honoris genere refarciantur quæ hoc itinere passa sit excellentia vestra incommoda, felix intereā voveo excellentiæ vestræ iter.

Ubsaliæ,  
28 Nov. 1653.

Excellentiæ vestræ ad officia paratissimus  
ADOLPHUS JOHANNUS Comes Palatinus  
Rheni.

*Translation of Whitelocke's Speech to the Queen of Sweden. Vol. I. p. 269. E.*

MADAM,

**B**Y command of my superiors the commonwealth of England, I do with all respect salute your majesty; which had been sooner done, if by extraordinary accidents, and engagements in the settling three nations, with no few foreign diversions, it had not been retarded.

And although the commonwealth of England are not encouraged to send abroad, when they reflect upon the barbarous usage of their messengers in some places; yet your majesty perceives, that from your government, neither our masters, nor their servants, have the least suspicion of any such entertainment: but we who are here do gratefully acknowledge our experience of respect and civility to our nation.

My business is to communicate with your majesty in matters relating to the common good; which is of such weight, that it admits no hopes of good success, without his special blessing, who, by small means, can bring great things to pass: the confidence whereof, with my submission to the judgment and commands of my superiors, hath given me the honour of being in your majesty's presence.

Whom I shall not weary with many words or expressions beyond meaning. I am not sent hither for that cause; and it is different from my own spirit, as contrary to the practise and commands of my superiors; from whom, and from their servant, (according to the English reality) your majesty will find all manner of plainness and truth in our transactions.

Our deliverances and preservations (whereof wee have been eye-witnesses) have been so near to miracles, and such monuments of infinite rich mercy from heaven, that we should sin against them, if the least guile of unfaithfulness should infect our conversation.

It is not my work to paint out my own country, or to draw black lines upon any (though our adversaries); neither shall I take upon me to mention  
the



the excellencies of your majesty's person and government, or of your people and countries: least I should injure any merit; and because I speak to them, whom God hath favoured with the injoyment of these great mercies, the increase and continuances whereof is heartily desired by my superiors, and by me their servant.

I shall not enlarge my discourse with observations concerning both nations, of their likeness in language, laws, manners, and warlike dispositions; arguments more natural, then artificial, for a nearer union. But this I may not omit (the fruits whereof I have tasted) the present happy government under your majesty, which remembers unto us, those blessed days of our queen Elizabeth; under whom about forty years the people enjoyed all protection and justice from their princefs; and she, all obedience and affection from her people.

May this, and more, be the portion of your majesty and your successors: nor had it been lost in those who followed queen Elizabeth, but through their own ill government.

When attempts were made to ravish from us our highest interests, the orthodox religion and just liberty; the defence whereof (undertaken by king Gustavus Adolphus, your majesty's royal father, of blessed memory, in his German expedition for the Protestants relief) was in him most honourable and successful; and surely for us was most just and necessary; and alike crowned with gracious success by the Almighty: for the extirpation of both which by force, which had long been attempted otherwise, auxiliaries were provided, and afterwards a war raised; which first appearing in Scotland, but they diligently resisting, and the English refusing to be instrumental against Scotland for those ends, the storm was then blown over. In Ireland it arose so hideously, that 200,000 poor creatures, men, women, and children (besides what wars there devoured) were in cold blood barbarously murdered, for no other reason but because they were Protestants. And in England it broke out in all parts, from one corner of the land to the other; not a place, not a family free from rage of our decennial, more then civil war.

And yet after so much blood poured forth, we, blessed be God! we live and flourish; and after so many devastations, a stranger, passing through our country, can hardly espie the steps of it. Our good God hath given us in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the adjacent isles and territories of the commonwealth, a full and happy peace. In all appeals to him (whereof we have seen many) he was pleased still to determine for the parliament: and after these, and eight tenders and treaties of peace, wherein we received the denial from our adversaries; it pleased the gracious and all-disposing hand of God, for the good of England, to change the government thereof.

Nevertheless, the same common interest which first begot former alliances and confederacies between the two nations, do still continue, and oblige both to endeavour the good of each other. Whereunto they seem the more engaged, because we cannot find, that in any age there hath been declared war between them: but a constant intercourse of friendship and amity, with mutual



tual offices of kindness ; out of which great profit and happiness hath redounded unto both.

These things being considered ; with the affairs of Christendome, and especially with the neighbouring princes and states, through divine Providence, in such posture and condition, as to give greater opportunity, and lay stronger obligations upon both nations, to entertaine a nearer union and correspondence than heretofore ; whereby the commerce and tranquility of both may be preserved, and provided for ; with respect also to the common interest and concernment of the true protestant religion : and your majesty having, by your late publick ministers to England, signified your royal inclinations and willingness, by all good means, to conserve and increase the antient good understanding between these states.

Upon these, and other weighty considerations, and to shew how acceptable the former overtures of your majesty have been ; the parliament have thought fit by me, to make tender unto your majesty, of the friendship of the commonwealth of England : and to let you know, that they are not only ready to renew and preserve inviolably, that antient and good correspondence which hath hitherto been between the two nations ; but are further willing to enter into a more strict alliance and union, than hath as yet been, for the good of both ; and in such a way as shall be held requisite, I shall be ready, more particularly, to communicate what I have in charge for this purpose.

*Original of the Queen of Sweden's Answer to King Charles II. Vol. I. p. 290. F.*

Monfieur Mon Frere,

**L**E Chivalier Ballandin m'a rendu la lettre que vous avez prins la peine de m'escire ; et m'a proposé la commission, dont vous l'avez chargée. Il a agi en tout en homme d'honneur ; et a tesmoigné autant de fidelité, et de zele, pour vostre service, que vous pourriez desirer de lui. Je lui dois ce temoignage, afin que vous ne lui imputies pas le mauvais succes de la negotiation. C'est l'injure du sort qui rend vos maux incurables ; et je m'estime malheureuse, d'etre en ettat de n'y pouvoir apporter du remede. Vous aurez sans doute la bonté de souffrir, que vos amis ayent soign de leur interest, lors qu'ils se jugent inutiles aux vottres. Je vous advoue avec regret, que je le suis plus que personne, et que je ne puis consentir aux propositions que vous me faites, sans prejudicer au bien d'un ettat d'ont les interests me doivent ettre chers, par dessus de toute autre consideration. Je souhaitte cependant, que le temps qui apporte remede à toute sorte de maux, acheue enfin de vos adversiter ; et qu'il me fasse naistre des occasions de les soulager, sans contrevenir aux obligations qui seules peuvent tout sur moi.

Je suis vostre tres affectionne soeur,

Monfieur Mon Frere.

CHRISTINE.

*Original*



*Original of the Letter of the Queen of Sweden to Grave Magnus de la Garde.*  
Vol. I. p. 356. G.

**P**UIS que vous desirer me voir encores, après la disgrâce qui vous est arrivée; je suis obligée de vous dire combien ce desir est contraire à vostre satisfaction, et je vous escri ceste lettre, pour vous faire souvenir des raisons qui m'empêchent d'y consentir; et qui vous doivent aussi persuader, que ceste entreveue est inutile à vostre repos. Il n'est pas en moy d'apporter des remedes a vostre malheur. C'est de vous seul, que vous devez attendre la reparation de vostre honneur. Que pouvez vous esperer de moy? Ou que puis je faire; si non vous plaindre, et vous blasmer. L'amitié que je vous ai portée m'oblige à l'un et à l'autre. Et quelque indulgence que j'ai eu pour vous je ne puis, sans me dementir, vous pardonner le crime que vous avez commis contre vous mesmes. Ne croyez pas que je suis offensée; je vous proteste que je ne le suis pas. Je suis désormais incapable d'avoir d'autre sentiment pour vous, que celui de la pitié; le quel toutes fois ne vous peut servir de rien; depuis que vous vous estes rendu inutile les sentimens de bonté que j'avois pour vous. Vous en estes indigne par vostre propre confession; et vous avez prononcé vous mesmes l'arrest de la vostre banissement, à veue de plusieurs personnes de condition, qui s'y trouverent presentes. J'ai confirmée cet arrest; pour ce que je le trouvois juste; et je ne suis pas si preste à m'en desdire, que l'on vous a fait accroire. Après ce que vous avez fait, et souffert, osez vous bien vous monstrier au moy? vous me faites honte, quand je pense à combien de bassesse vous estes descendu. Combien de soumissions vous avez fait à ceux mesmes, à qui vous avez voulu du mal. Dans cette malheureuse rencontre, on n'a veu rien de grand, de beau ni de genereux dans vostre conduite. Si j'estois capable de repentir, je regretterois d'avoir contractée amitié avec une ame si foible que la vostre: mais ceste foiblesse est indigne de moy; et ayant toujours agi selon la raison, je ne dois pas blasmer les apparences que j'ai données aux occurrences du temps. Je les aurois gardées toute ma vie, si vostre imprudence ne m'eust contrainte de me declarer contre vous. L'honneur m'oblige de le faire hautement; et la justice m'ordonne. J'ai trop faite pour vous depuis neuf ans, ou j'ai tous-jours prins aveuglement vostre parti contre vous. Mais à present que vous abandonnez vos plus chers interets; je suis dispensée d'en avoir soign. Vous avez publié vous mesmes un secret que j'estois resoluë de taire toute ma vie; en faisant voir, que vous estes indigne de la fortune que vous tenez de moy. Si vous estes resolu d'entendre ces reproches, vous pouvez venir icy; l'y consens à cette condition. Mais n'esperer pas que les l'armes, ni les soumissions puissent jamais m'obliger à la moindre complaisance. La seule d'ont je suis capable pour vous est celle de m'en souvenir peu, et d'en parler moins; estant resoluë de n'en parler jamais, que pour vous blasmer. C'est ce que je dois, pour faire voir, que l'on est indigne de mon estime après une faute semblable à la vostre. Voyla ce qui me reste a faire  
pour



pour vous. Souvenez vous pourtant, que c'est à vous seul que vous devez la disgrâce qui vous arrive; et que je suis equitable pour vous, comme je feray tous-jours pour tout le monde.

*Original of Whitelocke's Letter to Chancellor Oxenferne. Vol. I. p. 418. H.*

Ad excellentiam suam magnum cancellarium regni Sueciæ.

Excellentissime Domine,

CUM hoc loco septem integras septimanas et amplius egerim, negotiationis impositæ curam agens, cum huic negotio sua majestas excellentiam vestram præfecerit; nec huc usque articulis à me propositis responsum adhibeatur, neque conveniendi excellentiam vestram duabus hisce septimanis jam elapsis opportunitatis data sit; incertus prorsus quam brevi me revocari contingat. Ideo, et ut meo melius officio satisfaciem erga dominum meum dominum protectorem reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, et ad promptiorem rerum mihi à celsitudine sua commissarum expeditionem, ne etiam mihi negligentia detur; excellentiam vestram rogare, ut propositis à me responsum habeatur, æquum censui, idque jam brevi tempore: unde magnis aliis negotiis, neque etiam huic particulari, quod utriusque nationis communiter interest (quod ad honorem et emolumentum spectat) detrimentum non oboriatur.

Dat. Upsaliæ, 8th Feb. 1657.

*Original Letter of the Queen of Sweden to Chanut. Vol. I. p. 459. I.*

JE vous ay rendu compte autre foy, des raisons qui m'ont obligée de perseverer dans le dessein de mon abdication. Vous sçavez que ceste fantaisie m'a duré long temps, et que ce n'est qu'après y avoir pensée huit ans, que je me suis resolue de l'executer. Il y en a pour le moins cinque, que je vous ay communiquée cette resolution. Dans un si long temps tous les incidents ne m'ont jamais fait changer. J'ai réglée toutes mes actions a ce but, et je les ay conduittes à la fin, sans ballancer à cette heure, que je suis prest d'achever mon rolle, et pour me retirer derriere la theatre: je ne m'inquiete point du plaudite. Je scay que la scene que j'ai representée n'a pas esté composée selon les loix communs du theatre, &c.

\* \* \* *Cætera desunt in Manuscripto.*



*Original of Whitelocke's new Credentials.* Vol. I. p. 473. K.

Olivarius Dominus Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, earumq; ditionem; serenissimæ potentissimæq; principi, et Dominiæ unæ, Christiænæ Dei gratia Suecor', &c. salutem et prosperos rerum Successus.

Serenissima Potentissimaq; Regina,

**P**ostquam Deo optimo maximo, qui cuncta nutu suo dirigit et gubernat, pro inscrutabili sua sapientia visum est regiminis imperiiq; formam in his nationibus mutare, à quo prænobilis Bulstrode Whitelocke constabularius castri de Windsor, atque unus è custodibus magni Sigilli Angliæ hinc concessit utiq; legatus extraordinarius à parlamento reipublicæ Angliæ ad majestatem vestram missus, quo de iis quæ utrique genti è re futura sunt vobiscum communicaret. Necessarium idcirco duximus certissimam majestati vestræ fidem facere, nihil ex hac præsentis rerum mutatione, sincero studio, et benevolentia hujus reipublicæ versus majestatem vestram, ejusve dominica, derogatum iri. Verum sicuti in illius authoritatis exercitio quæ à Deo et populo nobis conceditur est, nos teneri duximus ad bonam cum vicinis intelligentiam colendam: ita cum corona Sueciæ primo et potissimum; inter quam et has nationes, arctum fœdus firmaque amicitia nullo non sæculo intercessit. Atque ea propter dicto domino Whitelocke, ea mandata dedimus quæ consimilem bonum affectum comprobent; summo opere rogantes, ut ei quoties cumq; petierit, benignam audientiam concedere, et iis quæ à parte nostra propositurus est indubiam fidem adhibere velit. Et sic divino summi rectoris numini majestatem vestram resq; vestras animitus commendamus. Dab. ex Alba Aula 23<sup>ti</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>. Stylo Veteri Anno 1653.

Vester bonus amicus,

OLIVARIUS P.

*Original of Doctor Whistler's Verses.* Vol. I. p. 508. L.

Serenissimæ ac Potentissimæ Christiænæ Reginæ Sueciæ, &c. sese jam Abdicaturæ.

**E**Rgone Hyperboreum cœlum indignata recusat,

Sustentare humeris nova terra incognita Atlantis?

Æternis regere imperiis Christina, Suecos

Delassata paves? percussis fascibus horres

Regia Virgo (velut Conjux Plebeia Stolonis)

Sceptra cui crepitacula erant? quæ terminat astris

Famam jam non ferre potest servire pararis

Imperium: regnum, et pannus Bombycinus urit.

Quænam hæc mollities animi? tu Martia proles

Gustavi: tanti talem quæ fulmina terrent?

Obstrepat usq; licet Umbratica turba togata:

Divitias non posse pati: si prospera ringant

Infirmi est animi indicium quem Jupiter ipse

Vix



Vix sanare potest : facilis Deus hisce salutem  
 Toxicæ propinat, reddens optantibus Orcum.  
 In te magna ruis superosq; absolvere fato  
 Indigno properas, non sunt fabricata Cyclope  
 Fulmina quæ infontem tali de culmine pellant,  
 Invidet ipsa sibi Christina, potentior omni  
 Invidia alterius, propriæ sed vulnere dextræ  
 Occumbit. sibi sacrificans sua tempora vittâ  
 Purpureâ redimita, sacris prosternitur aris  
 Regia sponte cadens invito victima regna :  
 Invitos servare suos injuria summa est,  
 Nolumus officium tantum ; tantisq; salutem  
 Respuimus : populo placando an Pallada mactas ?  
 Jam frendet populus reginæ motus amore,  
 Non odio : Indomitus jam præmatura remordet  
 Frœna viri, ignotæ rumpitq; repagula dextræ,  
 Mollior illa manus, mulcentior illa gubernat,  
 Serius in Cœlum redeas, sic turba precatur ;  
 Si tamen abripiere, tuis cogentibus Astris.  
 Æquius hoc fertur, fatali lege quod actum est  
 Solamen miseris, quod non tædebat in istos  
 Imperii ; major quod te tuus ardet Olympus,  
 Sustulitq; docens resonare Amaranthida cœlum.  
 Non sibi sollicitus, si jam sublimior orbem  
 Respicias, æthereo radiataq; vertice fulges.  
 Securiq; tui, quod non te Terra minorem  
 Despicit ! heu vanus vates sim talia fando.  
 Es major fato, miseram fortuna refingat  
 Christinam (pudeatq; deam) non fingere novit  
 Desertam virtute sua, non mente potente  
 Reddere jus legesq; viris, sibi cudere læta.  
 Tu mihi semper eris regina colenda. quod optes  
 Explorare tuum est : mihi jussu capeßere. magnam  
 Fortunam titulis, titulos virtutibus ornas—  
 Sis privata licet, quæcunq; per Arva pererras  
 Non potes, ut cupias, nativâ luce refulgens  
 Deficere eclipsi ; repacta crepuscula tanti  
 Syderis extinguunt Lucem vulgaribus astris.  
 Concilii Arcanum quicquid sit vulgus adoret.  
 Nil magnum vulgo placuit, non passibus æquis  
 Invia sublimis sequitur vestigia mentis.  
 Femina quæ posset, nec vult regnare superbe  
 Rara avis in domibus ; sed quanto rarior Aulis ?  
 Pinxisti exemplar Mundo ; quod si quis adæquet,  
 Ne dum si quæ ; mihi vel Pallas, vel fit Apollo.



*Original Copy of Verses, made by an English Gentleman, a Friend of  
Whitelocke's. Vol. II. p. 10. M.*

Ad Illustrissimum et Excellentissimum Dominum, Dominum Whitelocke, lega-  
tum Angliæ Extraordinarium apud Serenissimam Sueciæ Reginam. ODE.

**V**ITLOCE, Martis deliciæ, decus  
Gentis legata; te sine, languidum  
Mœret tribunal, et cubili  
In viduo Themis ingemiscit.  
Denso cientes agmine curstant,  
Et sempiternas te sine consuunt  
Lites, neq; hic discordiarum  
Finis erit, nisi tu revertas.  
Sed te nivolum per mare, per vias  
Septentrionum, per juga montium,  
Inhospitates per recessus  
Duxit amor patriæ decorus.  
Legatus oras jam sueconum vides  
Bruma sepultas; mox quoq; Galliam,  
Hispaniam mox cum Britannis  
Foedere perpetuo ligabis.  
Sic pacis author, sic pius arbiter  
Gentes per omnes qua sonuit tuba  
Dicere; cancellariusq;  
Orbis eris simul universi.  
Christina dulcis nympha diutiùs  
Ne te moretur: qui merito cluis  
Prudens Ulysses, sperne doctæ  
Popula deliciæq; Circes.  
Te casta tentum Penelope vocat,  
Vocant amici, teq; aliæ vocant  
Legationes, te requirunt  
Ardua multa domi forisq;  
Custos figilli tu dirimes cito  
Pugnas forenses, Bellaq; principum  
Legatus idem terminabis  
Tu (fera candida) claude fanum.

*Original of Whitelocke's Passport to Piementelle. Vol. II. p. 25. N.*

**C**omme ainsi soit que Don Antonio Piementel de Prado envoyée extraordi-  
naire de sa majesté le roy d'Espagne, a sa majesté la reyne de Suede, soit  
maintenant sur son retour de ce lieu a Neufport en Flandres, dont son excel-  
lence



lence est gouverneur ; et qu'il ait jugé à propos d'envoyer partie de son train et baggage par mer de Hambourgh a Duynkerk, ou publique autre port des Provinces Unies à present sous l'obeissance de sa ditte majesté le roy d'Espagne ; et pour leur procurer d'autant plus leur convoi, m'ait désiré, comme ambassadeur extraordinaire de son Altesse mon seigneur le Protecteur de la republique d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Irland, vous sa majesté la reyne de Suede de lui donner passeport : ces presents sont pour requirer tous ceux qui ont commandement par mer ou par terre, et tous officiers et autres de la ditte republique auxquels il peut appartenir, de permettre le porteur des presentes, Joos Froidure, serviteur du dit Don Antonio Piementel, avec son navire et biens sous sa charge (a scavoir vingt caisses contenant toutes sortes de meubles, comme vaiselle d'argent, tapisseries, linges, habits, lits de camp, et autres coffres et choses pareilles, et tout conduit par le susdit Joos Froidure, et les caisses marques D. A. P.) de passer passiblement, et sans empeschement quelconq; jusques au dit Duynquerque, ou autre port des Provinces Unies de present sous l'obeissance de sa ditte majesté le roy d'Espagne. Donné sous ma main et seau, à Ubsale in Suede, ce 4eme d'Avril, 1654.

B. WHITELOCKE.

*Original of Whitelocke's Passport to Grave Eric.* Vol. II. p. O.

Quandoquidem Petrus Gerbrant cives Stockholmenfis, et Navarcha Navis pertinentis ad suam majestatem reginam Sueciæ dictæ Sudermanlandts, Revaliæ filigine, et aliis suædicatorum subditorum ac mercatorum mercibus onustæ, navigaturæq; Lisbonam Portugalæ; et quo melius navigationem instituat, rogavit me, à sua celsitudine domino Protectore reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, ad majestatem suam reginam Sueciæ legatum extraordinarium, litteras salvi conductus, commendatitiæsq; Idcirco per presentes requiro omnes præfectos, et officio præpositos, sive mari sive terra, ad quos hæc pervenient, velint permittere dicto Petro Gerbrant, cum nave et onere prædicto, quiete et procul à molestia ad dictum Lisbonæ portum vela facere, et inde Stockholmiæ revertere, eo quod navi imponere onere libuerit. Data sub manu mea subscriptæ, sigillofq; munitæ. Ubsaliæ in Sueciæ, 14. April, 1654.

BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.

*Original of the Articles as they were signed and sealed by the Chancellor and his Son Grave Eric.* Vol. II. p. 113. P. *Extracted from the larger Manuscript, which is not quite correct.*

Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ principis ac dominæ dominæ Christiænæ Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumq; reginæ, magnæ principis Finlandiæ, Ducis Esthoniæ, Careliæ, Bremæ, Verdæ, Stetini, Pomeraniæ, Cassubiæ, et Vandailæ, Principis Rugiæ, nec non Dominæ Ingriæ, et Wis-

maria:



mariae &c. Regniq; Sueciae Senatores ac Plenipotentes Commissarii, nos infra scripti Axeluy Oxenstierna Regni Cancellarius, et Judex Provincialis Occidentalium Norlandiarum, Lapponiae; Herredatiae et Jemptiae, Comes Moreae Australis, liber Baro in Kimitho, dominus in Tiholme et Tydoen, eques auratus, et Ericus Oxenstierna Axely, generalis collegii commerciorum, Praeses, Comes Moreae Australis, liber Baro in Kimitho, dominus in Tydoen, Vibii, et Gorwallen, notum testatumq; facimus, quod sicuti nulla non antehac temporum memoria, Suecorum Anglorumq; gentes amica et egregia consuetudo intercefferit, atq; renovandae adaugendaeq; ejus usui commodum acciderit, quod serenissimam regiam majestatem dominam nostram clementissimam, mandato et nomine Olivarii Domini Protectoris Reipublicae Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae, Suarumq; ditionum, et dictae reipublicae legatus extraordinarius illustrissimus et excellentissimus dominus Bulstrode Whitelocke, constabularius castris de Windsor, atq; unus e custodibus magni sigilli Angliae, sufficienti potestate instructus, promptusq; transigendis quae sequuntur negotiis accesserit. Ita quoq; dicta serenissima regia majestas nobis pari ac sufficienti potestate munitis clementissime injunxit, ut deliberatis ac consideratis cum praenominato domino legato, iis, quae pro stabilienda. Commerciorum ac navigationis libertate, atq; corroboranda mutua amicitia hujus temporis, ac rerum omnium circumstantiis convenientissima judicarentur, certi quid de ejus statueretur, atq; sub articulis quibusdam mutui foederis comprehenderetur. Quamobrem de infra scriptis negotiis post sedulam eorum deliberationem ita convenimus, quemadmodum sequentibus ac insertis huic tractatui legibus, clarisve ac perspicuis eorundem verbis exprimuntur, videlicet.

1. Inter reginam regnumq; Sueciae, et dominum Protectorem praedictamq; rempublicam, atq; universas et singulas utriusq; ditiones, regna, regiones, provincias, insulas, terras, colonias, urbes, oppida, populos, cives, incolas, et omnes omnino subditos, et inhabitantes, bona in posterum sincera, firma, atq; perpetua sit, maneatq; pax, amicitia et correspondentia; adeo ut pars utraq; amore et affectu integerrimo se invicem complectatur.

2. Praedicti confederati et ditionis utriusq; subditi, populus, ac incolae, ubi occasio dabitur, mutuum commodum curabunt ac promovebunt, certiores se invicem quoq; facient si alterutri pericula imminet in alterum, conspirationes, ac machinationes inimicorum innotuerint, iisque quantum in illis fuerit, obstabunt, ac illis impediunt. Neutri etiam confederatorum licitum erit neq; per se, neq; per alios quoscunq; agere, tractare aut conari quidquam alterius incommodo, vel damno terrarum aut dominiorum alterius qualiumcumq; ubivis loci, five mari five terra. Hostes ejus, rebelles aut inimicos in confederati damnum nullatenus fovebit, neq; rebellium aut proditorum quenquam qui adversus statum alterius quidquam molietur, in ditiones suas recipiet, aut admittet: multo minus concilium, auxilium aut favorem illis praestabit, vel tale quid per subditos, populum, ac incolas suas praestari sinet, vel permittet.

3. Jam dicta regina regnumq; et praedictus dominus protector praedictaq; republica omni cum candore studioq; in illam curam incumbunt, ut (quantum in



in illis fuerit) submoveantur impedimenta quæ confœderatorum libertatem navigationis et commercii, tum invicem inter utranq; amicam gentem, tum per ditiones, terras, maria et flumina utriusq; cum aliis populis ac gentibus hætenus inturbant. Prænominatam autem libertatem navigationis, et omnis utriq; mercatura contra turbatores quoscunq; afferere, stabilire, defendere atq; provehere, hæc, de quibus in hoc tractatu convenit, vel de quibus post hac convenire poterit, rationibus, integerrime adnitentur; nihil vero finent, neq; per se, subditosq; ac populos suos, neq; sua ullatenus culpa, huic instituto adversum committi aut perpetrari.

4. Concessum imprimis liberumq; sit utrisq; prædictorum confœderatorum, et incolis ac subditis illorum, terrestri, vel maritimo, et quocunq; deniq; itinere, in alterius confœderati regna, regiones, provincias, terras, insulas, urbes, villas, oppida murata vel non murata, munita vel immunita, portus, dominia, et ditiones quoscunq; libere ac secure, absq; licentia vel salvo conductu generali vel speciali, ingredi, ire atq; inde redire, ibidem commorari, aut easdem transire; et omnia interim victui usuiq; suo necessaria emere, atq; pretio pro lubitu comparare, omniq; benevolentia tractentur. Etiam sit fas utriq; confœderatorum, subditisq; eorum, civibus ac incolis mercari, mercaturam facere, et commercia exercere in omnibus locis quibus hætenus commercium exercebatur uspiam, quibuscunq; in rebus ac mercibus allubescit, easdemq; importandi exportandiq; pro arbitrio cujusq; copia dabitur; solutis tamen teloniis debitis, et observatis legibus ac ordinationibus prædicti regni, et reipublicæ prædictæ, siue mercaturam siue jus aliud respicientibus: quibus præsuppositis, populus, subditi, ac incolæ unius confœderatorum habeant ac possideant in regionibus, terris, dominiis, ac regnis alterius tam larga et ampla privilegia, tantaq; relaxationes, libertates immunitatesq; quantas peregrinus quilibet possidet, ac possidebit, in dictis utrinq; dominiis ac regnis.

5. Mercatores navarchæ, naucleri, nautæ, homines quicunq; naves et omnia in universum mercimonia ac bona confœderati alterutrius, ejusq; subditorum ac incolarum, nullo publico privatove nomine, vi alicujus edicti generalis aut specialis, in terris, portibus, stationibus, littoribus, vel ditionibus quibuscunq; alterius fœderati, in usum publicum, expeditiones bellicas, aliamve ob causam, multo minus in usum cujusquam privatum apprehendantur, per arresta delinquantur, violentia aliqua, aut ulla ejusdem specie cogantur, nullave afficiantur molestia vel injuria. Cautum tantummodo sit, arresta juri ac æquitati consentanea non prohiberi, si secundum ordinarias legum formulas fiant; nullisve privatis cujusquam affectibus impune indulgeantur, sed pro juris ac justitiæ administratione evitari non possint.

6. Quod si una pluresve naves alterutrius confœderatorum, siue bellicæ siue onerariæ ac privatæ subditorum, civium, et incolarum ejus, procellis abreptæ fuerint, vel persequentibus piratis, inimicis ac hostibus, vel alia urgente necessitate ac ratione, in portus stationesq; vel ad littora quæcunq; alterius confœderati appellere cogantur, benignè omniq; humanitate ibidem excipiantur, et amica gaudeant protectione; nullo autem modo impediuntur quo minus integrum omnino habeant reficere se, et omnia victui, reparationi, atq; commodo  
suo



suo infervientia æquo prætio comparare; nulla quoq; ratione prohibeantur ex portu et statione vicissim pro libitu solvere ac egredi, non solutis teloniis aut oneribus ullis, dum modo adversus statuta, ordinationes, ac consuetudines loci in quem subductæ naves fuerint, aut ubi commorantur, nihil committatur vel peccetur.

7. Pari ratione si navis una pluresve publicæ aut privatæ alterutrius confederati ejusdemq; subditorum ac incolarum, ad oras aut in ditionibus quibuscunq; alterius confederati impegerint, jactum fecerint, vel naufragium et damnum quodcumq; passæ fuerint, aut in posterum patientur; detrimentum passis benevole et amicissime subveniatur, atq; auxilium illis pro convenienti feratur, adeo ut quicquid ex naufragio, vel quocunq; damno superfuerit, salvetur, conservetur, et justo domino vel ejus vices gerenti restituatur.

8. Quod si subditi et incolæ alterutrius confœderatorum. five mercatores sint factores, eorumq; servi, navarchi, naucleri, nautæ, five aliam ob causam in alterius confederati ditionibus iter facientes, aut degentes, vel nomine eorum quidquam acturi coram justitiæ foro, vel exigendis debitis suis, vel ob alias legitimas rationes, magistratuum auxilio ibidem indiguerint, id illis prompte et pro æquitate causæ benigne præbeatur, atq; justitia sine prolixis, et non necessariis ambagibus administretur. In peragendis negociis, contrahendis mercibus, accipienda pro illis solutione atq; pretio, perficiendisq; itineribus suis, nullo modo aut prætextu impediuntur; sed amicissima ubiq; experiantur officia: liberum etiam illis utrinq; sit, euntibus, redeuntibus, et obambulantibus in littoribus, navibus, portibus, et publicis ubicunq; locis alterius confœderati, arma portantia in privatam defensionem gestare; modo nequaquam præbeant præfectis, ac magistratui cujuscunq; loci justam suspicionem de machinationibus ullis adversus pacem publicam vel privatam; imprimis vero quicunq; modeste se gesserit, vixeritq; ab omni injuria, vi, ac molestia prolegatur.

9. Liceat prædictis confœderatis et singulis utriusq; populo subditisq; emere, atq; exportare, ex singulis utriusq; regionibus, dominiis ac regnis, omnis generis armaturam et qualemcunq; apparatus bellicum; et navigia in quolibet alterius portus, stationes ac littora tuto ac libere subducere, ad illa appetere, ibidem commorari atq; inde exire, modo se gerant modeste, pacate, et conformes locorum singulorum legibus ac consuetudinibus; neq; libertatem merciorum ulla ratione ibidem impediuntur. Pariter naves bellicæ habeant quidem liberum accessum in portus alterius confederati, et liberam stationem, sed eo tam manifestam \* præbere poterit, istuc non accedent absq; consensu et venia impetrata ab illo confederato, cujus portus sint; nisi tempestatibus impulsæ, vel vi, vel maris periculo; quo in casu adventus causam gubernatori vel primario loci magistratui significabunt, nec diutius moram ibi trahent, quam a gubernatore vel primario magistratu, ut prædictum, concessum fuerit: observatis semper et ubiq; supra indigitatis hoc articulo, et iis de quibus in posterum convenerit legibus.

\* So the Manuscript. Perhaps the true reading is as follows. Sed si numerus earum suspicionem manifestam præbere poterit, &c. See the translation, which is here printed from the same manuscript.



10. Fas sit reginæ regniq; Sueciæ subditis ac incolis quibuscunq; tuto ac sine molestia iter facere in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia, omnibusq; illarum ditionibus, et easdem transire terra vel mari quocunq; libuerit, ad gentes alias quascunq; cum illis commercium instituere, et mercaturam in omni mercimonia-  
 niorum genere liberrime exercere, illaq; istuc advehere indeq; evehere; iisdem fruatur libertatibus populus reipublicæ prædictæ in regnis, dominiis ac territoriis reginæ regniq; Sueciæ, ea conditione ut observentur utrinq; leges, ordinationes, ac jura peculiaria cujusq; gentis, quæ commercia et mercaturam concernunt.

11. Quamvis superioribus articulis hujus fœderis ac amicitiae legibus prohibitum sit, neutrum confœderatorum alterius hostibus auxilium atq; subsidium præstiturum, subintelligi tamen nullo modo debet, commercia et navigationem illi confœderato ejusq; subditis et incolis qui bello non est immixtus, cum hostibus illius fœderati, qui in bello versatur omnino denegata esse. Cautum tantummodo sit interim, donec rite magis de omnibus huc pertinentibus legibus convenerit, nullas ejus modi merces, *contrabande* vocatas (de quarum speciali designatione vel catalogo intra quatuor ab hinc menses rite conveniet) ad hostes alterius devehendas esse, sine periculo si ab altero fœderatorum deprehendantur, quod prædæ cedant absq; spe restitutionis.

12. Ne vero libera ejusmodi navigatio aut transitus fœderati unius ejusve subditorum ac incolarum durante bello alterius fœderati, terra, marive cum aliis gentibus, fraudi sit alteri confœderato, mercesq; et bona hostilia occultari possint dolis pretextendo amici nomen; ea ratio amovendæ suspitioni fraudiq; placuit, quod naves, plaustra, merces, hominesq; ad alterutrum confœderatorum pertinentes in itineribus ac navigationibus suis muniti esse debeant salvi conductus (vulgo vocatis passeportus) et certificationum literis, quæ à supremo ejus provinciæ urbive præfecto aut magistratu, unde exiverint, signandæ erunt: observandæq; in iis omnibus eæ formulæ, de quibus intra spatium quatuor ab hinc mensium rite conveniet. Ubi vero merces, bona navigia, homines alterutrius confœderatorum, ejusq; subditorum ac incolarum in aperto mari, fretis, portubus stationibus, terris, ac locis quibuscunq; obvia, aut obvii fuerint navibus bellicis, publicis aut privatis, vel hominibus, subditis ac incolis alterius fœderati, vel quocunq; modo in unum cum ipsis locum convenerint, exhibitis duntaxat salvi conductus sui, et certificationum literis, nihil ulterius ab iis exigatur; in bona navigia, aut homines nequaquam inquiratur; multo minus injuria, damno, aut molestia ulla afficiantur: sed proseguendo itineri, ac instituto suo, prout superius significatum est liberrime dimittantur. Si ab alterutra parte adversus hujus articuli genuinum sensum quodquam commissum fuerit, contravenientibus subditis ac incolis suis, pœnam severam uterq; confœderatorum infligi; læso autem alteri confœderato vel ejus subditis ac incolis de jactura omni ac impensis plenarie, et protinus atq; sine ulla mora satisfieri curabit.

13. Si contigerit quoq; in posterum, durante hac amicitia ac fœdere, quemquam è populo ac subditis alterutrius confœderatorum partium agere, aut moliri aliquid contra hoc fœdus pactumq; inter prædictos confœderatos, non eo no-



mine interruptum aut dissolutum erit; sed nihilominus perdurabit, ac premanebit integrum. Dabunt autem poenas homines illi particulares soli, quotquot hoc foedus violarint, ac injuriam accipientibus jus, et justitia administrabitur: et fiet satisfactio omnis damni atq; injuriæ intra duodecim mensium spatium post restitutionem postulatam. Quod si prædicti delinquentes et perpetratae violentiæ rei, sistere se ac submittere justitiæ, vel infra præfinitum diem satisfacere recusaverint; illi, quicumq; tandem sint, pronunciabuntur utriusq; status inimici, et eorum facultates, bona ac res quales quantæcunq; confiscabuntur, et venum dabuntur, ad justam et plenam satisfactionem injuriarum quas fecerint ipsiq; delinquentes et rei, ubi in potestatem alterutrius status venerint; meritis insuper poenis pro delicti natura afficientur. Restitutio autem ac satisfactio pro jactura, ac damnis quæ durante bello Anglicano cum foederati Belgii provinciis alterutra partium confœderatarum per alteram passa est, quantocius et sine mora parti læsæ, aut ejus subditis ac incolis, fiat et præstetur.

14. Præfens tractatus ac confœderatio nihil derogabit præeminentiæ, juri ac dominio cuicumq; alterutrius confœderatorum in suis maribus, fretis, atq; aquis quibuscunq; sed habeant retineantq; sibi eadem pari amplitudine qua hætenus gavisi sunt, et quæ illis jure competit.

15. Cum primarium itaq; sit institutum hujus foederis, ut talis libertas navigationis ac mercaturæ, qualis in superioribus articulis descripta est, utriq; foederato, subditis ejus ac incolis utrinq; sit ac maneat, in mari Balthico, freto Orefuntico, mari Septentrionali, Occidentali, Brittannico, Mediterraneo, ac canali cæterisq; in Europa maribus; communi itaq; consilio, ope, et auxilio integerrime allaborabitur, ut prædicta mutuaq; libertas navigationis, ac mercaturæ in omnibus prænominatis maribus ac fretis stabiliatur, promoveatur, atq; si occasio ita tulerit, defendatur contra turbatores qui interrompere illam, prohibere, impedire vel ad nutum suum injuriæq; confœderatorum constringere, aut cogere voluerint; benevolentiam item atq; promptitudinem provehendis alterius confœderati commodis et amoliendis incommodis, uterq; prædictorum confœderatorum benignissime invicem præstabit; salvis tamen foederibus utriq; genti cum aliis regnis, rebuspublicis ac nationibus quæ antehac inita sunt, et vigorem obtinuerunt. Nullatenus autem imposterum alteruter confœderatorum foedus inibit aut quidquam paciscetur cum aliis peregrinis gentibus ac nationibus quibuscunq; in prejudicium qualecunq; hujus præsentis invicem foederis; nisi præscis ac consentiente altero confœderato: aut si quidquam aliter cum aliis post hoc pactum fuerit, pro inito habeatur, cedatq; omnino huic mutuae conventioni. De modo autem subsidii vel auxilii invicem ferendi, pro defensione hujus foederis et libertatis commerciorum, ac navigationis, ubiq; ita necessum fuerit, et ratio postularit, specialius pro temporis ac rerum omnium circumstantiis conveniet.

16. De commoditatibus aliis quibus frui poterint, et legibus secundum quas se gerere tenebuntur naves bellicæ, quæ in portus vel stationes alterius confœderatorum appulerint, de commercio in America faciendo; item de commoditatibus piscatoriis halecum, et piscium quorumcunq; de staplis et emporiis commerciorum constituendis, deq; aliis rebus et conditionibus, quæ ad majorem



majorem superiorum articulorum evidentiam requiri poterint, statuetur, prout in posterum peculiari tractatu vel contractu invicem conveniet.

17. Hæc vero in quæ superioribus articulis consensimus, obtinebunt confestim ab hoc eodem temporis momento omnimodum vigorem, atq; sincere ab utraq; parte, omnibus qui obedientia, fide, ac obsequio utrinq; attinentur, rite observabuntur. quo autem in posterum eo magis stabilia ac firma sint maneatq; tum à regia majestate domina nostra clementissima, tum à domino protectore reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, suarumq; ditionum, nomine suæ celsitudinis, et prædictæ reipublicæ intra quadrimestre spatium, propriis majestatis illius atq; ejus celsitudinis manuum subscriptionibus, ac sigillis subscribentur, signabuntur ac rata habebuntur.

Ad corroboranda hæc omnia quæ superscripta sunt, atq; in fidem sufficientem fore, ut ex parte reginæ majestatis dominæ nostræ clementissimæ sanctissime ac integerrime observentur, atq; intra præfinitum diem rati habeantur, hæc propriis manibus subscripsimus, et sigillis nostris munivimus. Actum Upsaliæ die 11<sup>ma</sup> Aprilis, anno 1654.

AXELIUS OXENSTIERNA,  
ERICUS OXENSTIERNA AXELII.

*The English Translation of the Articles.*

**WE** whose names are subscribed Axelius Oxenstierna, chancellor of the kingdom, and provincially judge of the West Norlanders, of Lapland, Heredalia, and Jemptia, earle of South Morea, free baron in Kimitho, lord in Tiholme and Tydoen, knight of the golden spurre; and Ericus Oxenstierna, son of Axelius, generall president of the colledge of trade, earle of South Morea, free barron in Kimitho, lord in Tydoen, Viby, and Gorwallen, senators of the kingdom of Sweden, and plenipotentiary commissioners of the most serene and most potent prince and lady, the lady Christina, by the grace of God, queen of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandales, great prince of Finland, duke of Esthonia, Carelia, Bremen, Veherden, Stetin, Pomerland, Cassubia, and Vandalia, prince of Rugia, and lady of Ingrie and of Wismer; doe make known and testify, thus formerly there hath bin a great amitie betweene the Swedish and English nations, for which, to renew and increase the profit of it, it very well happened, that the most illustrious and most excellent lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable of Windsor-castle, and att this time one of the keepers of the great seal of England, being sufficiently authorized to treat of the following affayres, came to the S. R. M. our lady, by commandment, and in the name of Oliver, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, ambassador extraordinary from these countrys, and of the aforesaid commonwealth. The same also our most S. R. M. hath benignely commaunded us, who have the same and sufficient power, that after we should have considered with the aforesaid lord ambassador about the things which would be judged the most convenient to establish the liberty of commerce and navigation,



tion, and to corroborate the mutuall amitie in this time, that some certaine things should be determinated and written in forme of articles of mutuall alliance.

Therefore, we after a good deliberation together agreed touching the affayres heerafter written, as they are by these following lawes which are in this treaty, and by their cleer words, and without difficulty expressed. That is,

1. That heerafter there be a good, sincere, firme peace and correspondence betweene the queen and kingdome of Sweden, and the lord protector and the aforesaid commonwealth, and between all and every one of the dominions, kingdomes, countreys, provinces, islands, lands, colonies, townes, peoples, cittizens, inhabitants, and all and every one of the subjects of either of the party, so that they may mutually embrace in entire love and affection.

2. The aforesaid confederates and subjects, people and inhabitants of either, shall, when occasion shall be presented, advance the common profit, and shall, if they know of any imminent daunger, or conspiracy or machination of the enemies, admonish one another, and shall hinder them as much as lyes in their power. Neither shall it be permitted to any of the confederates to doe or treat by him, or by any other whatsoever to the prejudice or damage of the lands and dominions of either, whatsoever they be, or in whatsoever place, either by sea or land. The enemies, or rebells, or adversaries shall in no wise be suffered, neither shall the rebells or traitors who undertake under the state of the other be received in his countreys, and shall much lesse give them councell, ayde, or favour, nor shall admitt that his subjects, people, or inhabitants should doe any thing like.

3. The queen and kingdome aforesaid, and the lord protector and commonwealth aforesaid shall (as much as in them lyes) endeavour to take care with all candor and affection to remove all the hinderances which hitherto have interrupted the liberty of navigation and commerce between both the nations, as much in the dominions, lands, seas, and rivers of either of the confæderates, with other people and nations. They shall also endeavour to advance and defend the liberty of navigation and commerce against all sorte of disturbers for the reasons agreed uppon in this treaty, or uppon which heerafter they may agree, nor shall suffer either through themselves, their subjects or people, any offence to be committed or done against this institution.

4. For it is consented and agreed, that the inhabitants and subjects of the aforesaid confederates be free to travell, by sea or land, into the kingdomes, countries, provinces, lands, islands, townes, citties, villages, walled or unwalled, fortified or no, ports, dominions whatsoever freely, or without safe-conduct, generall or speciall, to goe, and thence to returne, and thence to stay or passe over, and all the while to buy victualls and things necessary for their use, and are to be treated with all benevolence. And also it shall be lawfull for the subjects, cittizens, and inhabitants of either of the confederates to exercise marchandise and commerce in all places wherein any commerce hath hitherto bin exercised, and the same marchandise may be carryed in or forth according to their pleasure, paying neverthelesse the usuall tax, and ob-  
serving



erving the lawes and ordinances of the aforesaid kingdome and commonwealth; supposing on both sides that the people, subjects, and inhabitants of either of the confederates shall have and possesse in the countreys, lands, dominions, and kingdome of the other, as full and ample priviledges, and as much freedom, liberty, and immunity as any stranger possesseth, or shall possesse in the said dominions and kingdomes.

5. The marchants, masters of ships, pylots, seamen, and others, their ships, marchandise, and all goods in generall of the said confederates, and their subjects and inhabitants, shall not be apprehended or deteined in the lands, ports, shoares, harbors, or dominions whatsoever in alliance with the other, for any publique use, expedition of warre, or other cause, much lesse for any private man's use, by virtue of any edict, generall or speciall; neither shall they be molested or constrained by violence or injury, or any thing of that kind: provided that arrests be not prohibited, if they are made according to the ordinary forme of lawe, justice, and equity, they shall not neglect the punishment of any for private affection.

6. And if one or more ships of the subjects, cittizens, or inhabitants, be they of warre or of burden and private mens, shall be forced by tempests or pursued by pyrats and enemies, or any urgent necessity, to the harbour or shoares of the other confederate, and be forced to call for protection, they shall be received there with all benignity, humanity, and friendship, and att no time be hindered; and all victuall, reparation, and things fitt for use att the ordinary price; they shall not be prohibited to depart or goe out of the port or harbour by any pretence whatsoever, as long as they have not committed any thing against the statutes, ordinances, and custome of the place where their ships are brought, and where they shall sojourne.

7. Likewise, if one ship, or more, of warr, or of private men of the other confederate, and of the subjects and inhabitants, shall be shipwrecked or cast on the coast of the dominions of the other confederate, or for the future may suffer detriment, they may be relieved and helped att a price agreed on; so that whatsoever shall be saved from the shipwreck, shall be preserved and restored to the true owner or his factor.

8. And if the subjects and inhabitants of the other confederate, whither they be marchants, their factors, servants, master of ships, pyrats, seamen, or others, have occasion to travelle into the dominions of the other confederate; or if any thing shall come in their name before a court of justice, or suits for their debts, or for any other lawfull reason, wherein they may need the help of the magistrate: in these things he shall be benigne and ready for equities sake, and shall administer justice without delay or unnecessary circumstances, and they shall not be hindered in their journey by any pretence; butt whithersoever they goe, are to be used friendly, and shall have the liberty either in going or returning, to carry and weare armes for their private defence, and to walke into the harbours, sea-ports, and in any publique place of the other confederate armed; provided they give no occasion of just suspicion to the governors or magistrates of any place, of any designe against the publique

or



or private peace; butt chiefly they are to behave themselves modestly, and to live without any injury.

9. It is lawfull for the foresaid confæderate, and both their people, to buy and export out of any of their countreys, dominions, and kingdomes, all sorts of armes and provision of warre, and freely and safely to carry their ships into what ports, stations, and harbours of the other confederate they please, and there to sojourne, and from thence to goe; and they are to carry themselves modestly, peaceably, and conforme to all the lawes and customes of the place, and they may trade there without any hindrance; likewise the ships of warr have free leave to come to the ports, havens, and stations of the other confæderates. Butt neverthelesse, if there be a manifest suspicion in their number, they may forbid their accessse, without they have obtained leave of the confæderate in whose ports they are, (unlesse they are drawne in by tempests, or force, or danger, or chiefe magistrate); and are not to stay longer then the governour or chiefe magistrate will give them leave.

10. It shall be lawfull for the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdome of Sweden to travell into all the countreys of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and likewise to passe beyond land or sea, and other people that commerce with them, to exercise trade in all kind of marchandice, and to bring them thither, and carry thence att their pleasure. The people of the aforesaid commonwealth shall injoy the same liberty in the kingdomes, dominions, and territories of the queene and kingdome of Sweden; butt, uppon condition that they shall observe the respective lawes, ordinances, and perticular rights of both nations, and of those things which concerne the traficque.

11. Although it be prohibited by the former articles of this league and friendship, that neither of the confæderates shall give aide or assistance to the enemies of the other, neverthelesse it is no way to be understood, that it is denied to the confederate and his subjects and people, who is not in warre, to have commerce and navigation with the enemies of that confæderate who is in warre. Provided only in the meane time, untill it may be more fully agreed uppon, all lawes hereunto pertaining, that none of those commodities called contrebanda (of which a speciall designation or catalogue shall be agreed uppon, within fower moneths from this time) shall be carryed to the enemies of either, uppon perill, that if they be found out by the other confæderate, they shall be taken as prize without hope of restitution.

12. Butt least this free navigation or passage by land or sea with other nations, of the one confæderate, his subjects or people, during the warre of the other confæderate, should be a deceit to the other confæderate, and may conceale commodities and hostile goods, by deceit, pretending the name of a friend; for that reason, to remove suspicion and fraud, it is thought fitt that the shippes, waggons, marchandises, and men belonging to one of the confæderates, in their journeys and navigations shall be armed with letters of safe-conduct, commonly called passeports and certificates, which shall be signed by the chiefe governor or magistrate of the province or citty from whence they come, and in all them, those formes to be observed which shall be agreed uppon within the



the space of fower moneths next insuing; butt where the marchandises, goods, shipping, and men of one of the confederates, or of his subjects or people, in the open sea, streights, ports, stations, lands, and places whatsoever, shall be met with by the shippes of warre, publique or private, or by the men subjects and people of the other confederate, or by any means shall be in one place together; then exhibiting only their letters of safe-conduct and certificates, nothing shall be further required of them, nor inquired of them, nor inquiry made as to their goods, shipping, or men any further; much lesse shall any injury, damage, or trouble be offered to them, butt as is before signified, they shall be freely dismissed to proceed in their intended journey. And in case any thing be done by either party contrary to the genuine sense of this article, either of the confederates shall cause severe punishment to be inflicted upon those who shall doe contrary heerunto, their subjects and people, and shall take care that satisfaction be made without delay to the other grieved confederate, or his subjects and people, fully of all their losses and expences.

13. Also, if it shall fall out heerafter during this friendship and league, that any of the people and subjects of either of the confederates shall take part with, or designe any thing against this league, the agreement between the aforesaid confederates shall not therby be interrupted or dissolved, butt nevertheless shall continue and wholly remaine; butt those perticular persons only who have broken this league shall be punished, and right and justice shall be administred to those who have received injury, and satisfaction shall be made of all dammages and wronge within a twelve monethes time after restitution demaunded. And if the foresaid delinquents, and persons guilty of the violence committed, shall not yield themselves and submit to justice, or within the præfixed time shall refuse to make satisfaction, they, whosoever they are, shall att length be proclaimed enemies to both states, and their estates, goods, and whatsoever things they have, shall be confiscated and sold for a just and full satisfaction of the wrongs by them done, and those offenders and guilty persons, where they shall come into the power of either state, shall suffer also deserved punishment according to the nature of their offence. Butt restitution and satisfaction for the losses and damages which either of the confederates hath suffered by the other, during the warre between England and the united provinces of the Netherlands, shall be made, and afforded without delay, to the party wronged, or to his subjects.

14. The present treaty and confederation shall not att all derogate from the preheminance, right, and dominion whatsoever of either of the confederates, in their seas, streights, and waters whatsoever; butt they shall have and retainne the same to themselves, in the same fullnes as they have hitherto enjoyed the same, and of right belongs unto them.

15. Whereas therefore it is the principall purpose of this league, that the same freedome of navigation and marchandising as is exprest in the former articles, should be and remaine to either confederate, his subjects and people, in the Baltick sea, the streight of the Sundt, the Northerne, Westernne, British, and Mediterranean seas, and in the Channell, and other seas of Europe; itt shall



shall therefore earnestly be indeavoured, by common councell, helpe, and assistance, that the foresaid mutuall freedome of navigation and commerce shall be established and promoted in all the before-mentioned seas; and if occasion require, shall be defended against disturbers, who would interrupt it, prohibit, hinder, constrain, and force it, to their own will, and the injury of the confederates; and bothe the confederates shall willingly and mutually afford their good will and readines to promote the benefit, and to take away the prejudice of either of the confederates, alwayes saving to either nation the leagues with other kingdoms, commonwealths, and nations, which have bin heretofore made, and are in force: butt neither of the confederates; for the future, shall make any league or alliance with any forrein people or nations whatsoever, to any prejudice of this present mutuall league, without the knowledge before hand, and consent of the other confederate: and if any thing shall heerafter be agreed otherwise, it shall be voyd, and shall wholly give way to this mutuall agreement; butt of the manner of mutuall ayde or assistance to be given for defence of this league, and freedome of commerce and navigation, where it shall be necessary, and reason shall require it, it shall be specially agreed uppon according to the circumstances of time, and all other things.

16. Concerning other advantages to be injoyed, and rules according to which the shippes of warre shall demean themselves, which shall come into the portes or stations of the other confederate; of the trade to be had in America, also of the commodities of fishing for herrings, and other fish whatsoever; of the staples and marts to be appointed for trade, and of other matters and conditions which may be required for the greater evidence of the former articles, as by a perticular treaty and mutuall contract, shall be heerafter agreed.

17. Butt those matters which we have agreed in the former articles, shall forthwith from this moment of time obtain full force and be sincerely and rightly observed by either party, and by all who are under their obedience, faith, and commaund. And to the end, that for the time to come they may be the more established, and remaine firme as well by her royall majesty, as also by the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the territoryes thereunto belonging, in the name of his highnes and the said commonwealth, these presents, with the proper subscriptions of the hands of her majesty, and of his highnes, shall be subscribed, signed, and ratified.

In confirmation of all these things which are above written, and for sufficient testimony thereof, that on the parte of her royall majesty our most clement lady, they shall be most religiously and fully observed, and be ratified within the time præfixed, we have subscribed these presents with our proper hands, and armed them with our seals. Dated at Upsale, the 11th day of Aprill, in the year 1654.

AXELIUS OXENSTIERNA,  
ERICUS OXENSTIERNA AXELIUS.

*Original*



*Original Letter to Whitelocke from Pementel.* Vol. II. p. 113. Q.

Les Lettres de Pementel, par lesquelles je puis avoir Passeport, pour faire le voyage par terre si j'en ay deffoub.

**E**Xcellentissimo Senor, el Senor embaxador de Yngalatera, mi lord Whitelocke, a resuelto, aberado acabado su embaxada en esta corte, bolber per esa provincia, abiendo passado de Hamburgo a Colonia, y para poder legar a Bauffarias con mayor seguridad, a deseado un passaporte de S. A<sup>za</sup>. El Senor Archiducque: y abiendo yo escrito paraque se despache, y annadido el pedir que se remita a VX<sup>a</sup>. aquira, suplico quiera mandar que se entreq; a la persona que des de Colonia, ymbiare por el con esta El. Sr. embaxador, y que pasando por esa villa, pueda conoser su Ex. en los agasafos que VX<sup>a</sup>. sabe hacer la md. que a mi me hace, debiendo yo a este cauallero singulares favores y deseando manifestarle mi reconocimiento, estoy cierto que VX<sup>a</sup>. me ayudara y vendra dispuesto el darme muchos empleos de su servicio para Madrid, donde me ha mandado pasar el rey nostro Sr. y para donde exeo partir dentro de tres o q<sup>ro</sup>. dias, tomando mi Eammo par Bucr<sup>as</sup>. adonde podre hallar las ordenes de VX<sup>a</sup>. asegurandole, que en todas partes las estimare y obedecere con suma puntualidad. gd. Enro Sr. a VX<sup>a</sup>. los muchos annos que deseo. Upsaley, abul 14 de 1654, V. Xmo. Sr.

B. L. M. de VX<sup>a</sup>. su m<sup>or</sup>. servidor,

ANT. PEMENTEL.

*Original of the Commission of full Power, from the Queen of Sweden.*

Vol. II. p. 127. R.

**N**OS Christina Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumq; regina, &c. notum testatumq; facimus quod cum e re communi mutuaq; nostri et regni nostri, deniq; Olivarii domini protectoris reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, suarumq; ditionum nostri boni amici dictæq; reipublicæ sit; ut antiqua illa amicitia et consuetudo quæ huic regno cum iis nationibus perpetuo intercessit, conservetur, abaugeaturq; imprimis vero ut libertas commerciorum ac navigationis, facta tecta et illibata maneat; atq; illius rei gratia prædictus dominus protector et respublica, legatum suum extraordinarium ad nos mittere voluerit: proinde in mandatis dedimus, ut et hisce in optima forma mandamus et committimus, illustrissimis nobis sincere fidelibus et dilectis, domino Axelio Oxenstiernæ nostro regniq; Sueciæ senatoris cancellario, &c. deniq; domino Erico Oxenstiernæ Axelii, itidem nostro regniq; Sueciæ senatori, &c. ut cum ante nominato legato et plenipotentiario, de ineundo supra prædictis rebus aliisq; huic pertinentibus fœdere tractent, statuunt, et concludant. Quic-

VOL. II.

Q q q

quid



quid igitur dicti nostri plenipotentes commissarii cum ante nominato legato re-  
gerint, concluderint, statuerintq; id nos omne vigore harum præsentium ratum  
gratumq; sumus habituræ præstabimusq; re ipsa. In quorum fidem roburq; præsen-  
tes, manu nostra subscriptas, sigillo nostro majori muniri iussimus. Dabantur in  
arce nostra Upsalienfi, die decima quarta Martii, anno supra millesimum  
sexcentesimo quinquagesimo quarto.

CHRISTINA.

*The English of the Commission.*

**W**E Christina, by the grace of God, queen of Swedes, Gothes, and Van-  
dalls, &c. doe make knowne and testify, that, whereas it is the common  
and mutuall interest of us and our kingdome, as also of Oliver lord protector  
of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions  
therof, our good friend, and of the said commonwealth, that the antient  
friendship and alliance which hath alwayes bin between this kingdome and  
those nations be conserved and increased; and especially that the freedome of  
commerce and navigation doe continue straightly conformed and uninterru-  
pted; and for that cause the forsayd lords, protector, and commonwealth  
have bin pleased to send their extraordinary ambassador unto us: therefore,  
we have commaunded, and doe by these presents, in the best forme, com-  
maund and commit unto the most illustrious, our sincerely faithfull and be-  
loved, the lord Axelius Oxenstierna, chancellor and senator of us, and the  
kingdome of Sweden, &c. and also to lord Eric Oxenstierna, of Axelius, like-  
wise a senator of us, and of the kingdom of Sweden, &c. that they doe treat,  
agree, and conclude with the before-named ambassadore and plenipotentiary  
about the making of a league concerning the foresaid matters, and other  
things therunto pertaining. Whatsoever therefore, our said plenipotentiary  
commissioners shall act, conclude, and appoint with the before-named am-  
bassadore, we shall hold the same ratified and confirmed by force of these  
presents; in wittnes, and strengthening whereof, we have commaunded these  
presents, subscribed with our hand, to be corroborated with our great seale of  
the kingdome. Given in our castle of Upsale, the fourteenth day of March,  
in the yeare one thousand six hundred fifty and fower.

CHRISTINA.

*Original Letter from the Queen of Sweden to Whitelocke, being her Grant of  
Copper to him. Vol. II. p. 138. S.*

**N**OS Christina, Dei gratia, Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumq; regina,  
&c. notum testatumq; facimus, quod cum gratissima nobis sint opera  
illustres et generosi nobis sincere delicti domini Bultstrodi Whitelocke, legati  
extraordinarii quæ communi bono regni nostri atq; suæ republicæ ad pangen-  
dum inter utraq; partes arctioris amicitiae foedus, navaverat; idcirco et  
quo aliquod illi documentum benevolentiae nostræ, gratæq; hoc nomine me-  
moriae constet. Proinde dedimus et assignavimus, ut et hisce litteris nostris  
damus



damus et assignamus, dicto domino legato, æris ducenta pondo vulgo Schippundt vocata, quæ 200 æris pondo, thesauri nostri cameræq; rationum præfecti, antememorato legato, sine mora in manus tradere tenebuntur. In quorum fidem majorem præsentas, manu nostra subscriptas, sigillo nostro firmari jussimus. Dabantur in arce nostra Upsaliensi die 3 Maii, anno 1654.

CHRISTINA.

*The English of the Warrant.*

**W**E Christina, by the grace of God, queen of the Swedes, Gothes, and Vandals, &c. doe make knowne, and testify, that wheras the endeavours of the illustrious and generous, of us sincerely beloved, the lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, extraordinary ambassador, are most gratefull to us, which he hath negotiated for the common good of our kingdome and his commonwealth, for the making of a league of stricter friendship between both parties. Therefore, and to the end it may appeare as a testimony of our good will and gratefull memory on this behalfe; we have theruppon graunted and assigned, and by these our letters doe graunt and assigne to the said lord ambassador, two hundred pound of copper, commonly called ship pounds: the which 200 pounds of copper, our treasurers and officers of our chamber of accounts are obliged, without delay, to deliver into the hands of the before-mentioned ambassador. In greater testimony wherof, we have commaunded these presents, subscribed with our hand, to be confirmed by our seale. Given in our castle of Upsale, the 3d day of May, in the year 1654.

CHRISTINA.

*Original of the Articles touching Guinee. Vol. II. p. 185. T.*

**S**erenissimi ac celsissimi domini Olivarii domini protectoris reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, earumq; ditionum, atq; ejusdem reipublicæ commissarius procurator deputatus et legatus extraordinarius, ego infra scriptus Bulstrode Whitelockius, constabularius castri de Windsor, et unus custodum magni sigilli reipublicæ Angliæ, notum testatumq; facio, quod cum ipso fœderis tractatu inter prædictum serenissimum ac celsissimum dominum meum Olivarium dominum protectorem, ac serenissimam potentissimamq; principem ac dominam dominam Christinam, Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorumq; reginam &c. stabilita sit firma pax et amicitia: eidem congruere potissimum judicavi modum reperire amovendis nonnullis populorum ac civium invicem gravaminibus et, præripere materiam et occasionem unde in posterum enascantur. Proinde de motis quibusdam quæstionibus ita cum illustrissimis, excellentissimisq; tuæ regiæ magestatis prædictæ regniq; Sueciæ, senatoribus ac plenipotentibus commissariis dominis, domino Axelio Oxenstierna, regni cancellario, &c. et domino Erico Oxenstierna Axellii, generalis collegii commerciorum præside, &c. conveni quemadmodum sequentibus exprimitur et explicatur.



Imprimis, cum Anglicana quædam societas in Guinæa mercaturum exercens conquæsta sit de quodam Henrico Carelorio qui directorem agens, nomine Suecanæ societatis in dictis oris, loca nonnulla ab Anglis habitata iisdem arripuerit, aliisq; molestiis affecerit; prædicta vero societas Suecana non tantum modo nominati directoris ac suam culpam nullam esse probandam suscepit, verum etiam sua iterum gravamina contra prædictæ societatis Anglicanæ ministros reposuerit; hæ autem controversiæ mercatorum particulares hac vice ob certas rationes penitus abooleri non potuerint: consultissimum utrinq; visum est, ut quantocius coram certis utrinq; commissariis amicissime et sine ambagibus componantur. Interim autem convenit nulli præjudicio alterutri parti hanc moram fore; adeo ut neq; societatum prædictarum participes ac ministri neq; ulli utriusq; status subditi ac cives se invicem ulla, aut in Guinæa liberrimoq; ibidem commercio, aut in itinere, injuria aut molestia afficiant: verum delata, prout superius indigitatum est, ad superiores utriusq; controversiarum diremtione, amice inter se vivant, et ea se complectantur benevolentia, quæ fœderi utrinq; concluso consentanea est. Idem etiam observetur in America inter Novæ Sueciæ et Anglorum colonias, ut amicitiam sinceram colant, et ab omnibus molestiis ac injuriis utrinq; abstineant, inprimis autem conservationi mutuæ studeant, donec de limitibus coloniarum et aliis si quæ sint amicitiae legibus, simul cum cæteris particularium negotiis, coram deputatis utrinq; commissariis, rite conveniri poterit. Quæ omnibus et singulis utriusq; status subditis ac civibus, quorum interest, injungenda ab iis observanda fore, hisce præsentibus vi commissionis meæ in me integerrime recipio, et subscriptione manus meæ, sigilloq; corroboro.

*The English Translate of the Articles of Guinne.*

**I** THE subscribed Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable of the castle of Windsor, and one of the keepers of the great seale of the commonwealth of England, commissioner, procurator, deputy, and extraordinary ambassador of the most serene and most high lord Oliver lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions therof, and the sayd commonwealth, doe make knowne and testify, that, wheras by the treaty of alliance between the sayd most serene and my most high lord Olliver lord protector, and the most serene and most potent prince and lady, the lady Christina, by the grace of God, queen of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandalls, &c. a firme peace and friendship is established; and I have judged it chiefly consonant therunto, to find out meanes to remove certaine grievances of the people and cittizens of either state, and to take away all grounds and occasions therof which may arise in time to come. Therefore, uppon some differences moved, I have agreed with the most illustrious and most excellent lords, plenipotentiary commissioners, and senators of her sayd royall majesty, and of Sweden, the lord Axelius Oxenstierne, chancellor of the kingdome, &c. and the lord Eric Oxenstierne, son of Axelius, president of the generall colledge



colledge of trade, &c. in manner as by the following articles is expresse and explained.

First, wheras a certain company of English exercising marchandise in Guinee, have complained of one Henry Carelove, who, being governor of the Swedish company in that countrey, did take away from the English certaine places inhabited by them, and did other injuries to them; butt the sayd Swedish company, not only tooke uppon them to prove, that the before-named governor did committ no fault, butt likewise made complaint of grievances against the officers of the sayd English company, butt these perticular differences of marchants att this time could not for certain reasons be wholly determined; and therefore, it seemed most counsellable to both parties, that in a friendly way, without any indirect courses, they may be composed by certeine commissioners on both sides: in the mean time, it is agreed, that the differing heerof shall be to the prejudice of none of either part; so that neither the fellows or officers of the sayd companies, nor any subjects or cittizens of either state, shall offer any injury or molestation to one another in Guinee, or in the free commerce or travayling there; butt as before is expresse, the determination of the differences being referred by both sides to the superiors, they may live friendly among themselves, and treat one another with that good will which is consonant to the league concluded between them. The same also shall be observed in America between the colonies of New Sweden, and of the English, that they doe imbrace a sincere friendship, and that either party doe abstaine from all troubles and injuries to the other, butt chiefly that they doe endeavour their mutuall preservation, untill there be a cleere agreement before the deputed commissioners on both sides, about the limits of the colonies, and other rules of friendship that shall be requisite, together with other affayres of perticular persons. Which matters, that they may be enjoyned to all and singular the subjects and cittizens of either state, and may be observed by them, I have fully taken uppon me by these presents, by virtue of my commission, and doe confirme, by subscription of my hand, and by my seale.

*Original of Whitelocke's Speech to the Prince.* Vol. II. p. 204. U and X.

MY LORD,

I ESTEEME it a great happines, that an opportunitie presents itselfe to me to kisse the hands of your royall highnes, and to salute you on the part of my lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, before my departure from this kingdome: the which I had performed sooner, and in another place, had I not bin hindered by the necessity of my attendance uppon the issue of that busines which was committed to my trust; butt since the conclusion thereof, I have continued heere purposely to adde to my satisfaction, that of having rendred my devoires unto your royall highnes, and to certify unto you the friendship and respects of his most serene highnes my master.

*After*



*After Whitelocke had done speaking, the Prince stayed a little time, and then in French answered him to this purpose.*

MY LORD AMBASSADORE,

**I**T would have bin trouble to me, if, after the conclusion of your busines in this country, you should have bin put to the inconvenience of attending my arrival in this place. I am glade it falls out to be before your departure from the country, which hath given me the contentment of being acquainted with you, and an occasion of testifying the great respect which I doe beare unto my lord protector, and the commonwealth whome you serve, and with whom I receive much satisfaction, to have a friendship and alliance contracted by this kingdome, the which, I hope, and believe, will be for the good of both nations, and of the Protestant interest.

There is no person beares a greater regard to my lord protector than I doe, and to your commonwealth: and I have heard so much of your honorable and prudent management of affayres heere, that it caused a great desire in me to know you, and to have the opportunity of conversing with you, the which you have att this time allowed me; and I doe thanke you for it, and for the respects of my lord protector which you are pleased to present to me in his name, and I assure you they are most acceptable to me.

Vol. II. p. 223. Y.

**I**PROMISE to procure unto myselfe full power and authority from his most serene highnes my master, the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, within three moneths space after my arrival in any port of England, to supply any defect of power or authority heertofore given unto me, to treat with her most serene majesty the queen of Sweden or her commissioners, and to ratify all things which shall be concluded between her majesty or her commissioners and me. Dated at Upsale, the 19th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1654.

*Original of Whitelocke's Letter to Marshall Vrangell. Vol. II. p. 256. Z.*

*To his Excellence the Field Marshall Vrangell, att Upsale.*

SIR,

**I**COULD not deteine the major generall Fleetwood heere any longer with me, his desire was so earnest to be at Upsale att the coronation, lest he should seeme to neglect and fayle of his duety towards his royall highnes; butt he made it his request to me, and it is mine to your excellence, that you would be pleased to be a means to his royall highnes, that he may returne to Stockholm, and that I may enjoy his company till I goe away, which, in appearance,



ance, will be deferred longer than I could wish, by reason of the contrary winds. I intreat your excellence to doe me the favour, in my name, to kisse the hands of her majesty, and of his royall highnes; and for the many favours which your excellence hath exprest to me, as well att Upsale as in this place, to accept the thankes of him, who is,

Stockholme, May 29.  
1654.

S I R,

Your Excellencies most humble servant.

BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.

*Original Letter of Esrael Lagerfeldt to Whitelocke.* Vol. II. p. 257. A. A.

Most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Ambassador,

**A**Lthough I much doubt whither these letters will find your excellence in Sweden, yett, uppon this occasion, I would not either be wanting in my duety, or deny the request of certain Swedes. For, wheras two Swedish shippes, wherof the master are called Bondrs, and Sibrand Jollis, were lately taken and carryed into England; they hope, that by my intercession, butt chiefly by the friendly commendation of your excellence, they may be forthwith released. If therefore the integrity of your excellence had not bin sufficiently foreseen by me, from thence I should have much laboured, that the discharge of those and of other Swedish shippes detained in England, and being equall in itselfe, and conformable to the friendship and mutuall league, might have bin commended to you.

It sufficith now att length, that I have acquainted your excellence with it, as to whome nothing can be more pleasing, than that friends and confæderate nations may be more strictly united within themselves, by a religious observance of faith and justice.

To conclude, I wish your excellence a happy returne to your countrey, and most friendly doe commend my selfe and our Barkman to you. Dated att Upsale, the 27th of May, in the year 1654.

Most ready to doe all offices to your excellence,

ESRAEL LAGERFELDT.

*The English of the Syndick's Speech.* Vol. II. p. 285. B. B.

Most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord Ambassador,

**T**HE most noble senate of Lubecke doe acknowledge with a gratefull minde, that the most renowned English nation hath for may years past afforded much favour to the people and merchants of this citty; and also, whilest the sharpe warre between the two neighbour commonwealthes did rage, that our inhabitants received favour and justice touching some of their shippes taken att sea.

The



The most noble senate humbly returne their thankes, which they could not better testify, than by their speciall respects towards a person of that condition, of such eminency as they understand your excellence to be; with this also, that you now exercise the office of extraordinary ambassador from that most honourable state.

The most noble senate doth congratulate the happy successe of the negotiation performed by your excellence, and also the arrivall of so great a person unto their citty.

If there be any thing in their citty in their power worthy of your excellencies acceptance, whatsoever it be, we have it in commaunds to make offer of it to you. This senate is also sorry, that it was so late before they were certefyed of your excellency's comming hither, that they could not further consider how so great a guest, and those who are of your retinue, might be entertained according to your merit; yett, they hope, that of your goodness, they shall not be blamed for it. The magistrates of this towne doe by us intreat, that your excellency would be pleased to take it in good part how smalle a present soever of Lubeck beere and Rhenish wine, which they have caused to be delivered to your excellency's officers.

Most excellent lord; being confident of your courtesy, we hope it will not be imputed to us as a fault, that in this instant of time, we propound a few things concerning our affayres, to the consideration of your excellence; we confesse that we are unseasonably importunate, butt understanding that your stay will not be long in our citty, we are sollicituously fearfull, least we may not have the like opportunity againe. Therefore, we are required by our lords, to certify your excellence, that many shippes of this towne, sayling uppon their traffique, meeting with English shippes of warre, have bin examined by them, and bin presently dismissed freely, because they were found not to have afforded any supplies unto your enemyes; nevertheles, the same shippes shortly after were seised uppon by certaine privateers of yours (called Capers) and are still deteined, to the great dammage of the owners. This most noble senate hopeth, that by the intercession of your excellence, out of the justice and favour of my lord protector, restitution will be made of them to their people, according to right and equity; for which end, both the magistrates and people of this citty humbly intreat the favour and friendship of his highness my lord protector, and the most illustrious commonwealth of England, may be continued in what concernes their trade, or other matters.

*The English of Whitelocke's Answer to the Syndick.* Vol. II. p. 287. C. C.

Most Worthey Persons,

**I**T is rightly observed by you, that there hath bin antiently a friendship and mutuall good will between the people of England and the cittizens of Lubecke; nor hath a gracious mind of my lord protector of the common- of England, Scotland, and Ireland, my master, bin att any time wanting to you when occasion hath bin offered, and which, I nothing doubt, butt that it  
still



still continues wholly with his most serene highnes. Nor have I any suspicion, butt that the most noble senate of this renowned citty, and the free cittizens thereof, will afford all due honour to my lord protector my master, and good affection to all those of the English nation, who shall repayre hither upon occasion of trade or of conversation.

I desire you to returne thanks in my name to the most noble senate of this citty, towards my lord protector my master, and to the commonwealth of England, in the honorable reception of me their servant, testified as well in my arrivall att their port, as att my comming to their citty, and also in the present which it pleased them to bestow upon me.

I take it for an honor, that they thinke fitt by me to move my lord protector, which office I willingly take upon me to performe, as soon as it shall please God to afford me a returne to his most serene highnes, whose care it is that every one may receive what of right belongs unto him: indeed, I doubt not, butt that perticular testimonyes by reall effects will be found of favour towards this famous citty.

*The English of the Senator's Speech.* Vol. II. p. 304. D. D.

**M**Y Lord, who are extraordinary ambassador of his most serene highnes Oliver by the grace of God, lord protector of the commonwealth of England: as soon as the Lords of this towne were advertised of your intention to passe by this citty, they were desirous to testify their most humble respects to my lord the protector, and to your person in particular; in pursuance wherof we have received a commaund to come and salute you, and to give you the welcome to this towne: they are extreamly joyfull of the happy successe which God hath given you in your negotiation in Sweden, and that he hath pleased also to give you a good passage, and to favour you in your returne as farre as this place, after you have overcome many difficulties, and escaped many daungers; and we pray his divine goodnes to bring you in safety unto your owne country: we are also commaunded to acknowledge the favours which my lord the protector of so great a commonwealth hath done to our citty, and the inhabitants thereof, and perticularly during the warre between England and the Low Countreyes, in freeing and discharging of our shippes: we doe wish to that flourishing state the continuance and increase of the divine favour, for their conservation and growth more and more; and we hope that my lord the protector will continue with that commonwealth their favours towards this towne, who will be alwayes ready to render unto them all offices and humble respects.



*Whitelocke's Answer to the Senator's Speech.* Vol. II. p. 305. D. D.

GENTLEMEN,

**I** HAVE great cause to prayse the name of God for his protection of me, and of my company in our long and daungerous voyage, and for the happy successe which he hath given me in my negotiation, and for my safe arrivall att this place in my returne to my owne country.

I desire you to thanke my lords the senators of this citty for the respects which they have testified towards his most serene highnes my master, and the commonwealth of England, by the honour which they have done unto their servant, whereof I shall not fayle to informe them.

I had a great desire to see this renowned citty, and my countrey men, who, by agreement doe live heere, from whome I have understood, with much contentment, that their priviledges are maintained by my lords the magistrates, of which I desired to be informed; and his highnes, my master, will take it in very good part the respects and justice done to the English heere, a thing, which I believe, will prove to the advantage both of the one and the other. I give you thanks likewise for your good wishes for the prosperity of our nation, to whom God hath given so great proofes of his presence; and I shall pray the same God also for the happines of this citty, and all her inhabitants.

*The Letter to the Queen translated.* Vol. II. p. 339. E. E.

MADAM,

**T**HE great favours that I have received from your majesty, oblige me to render an account of this which concernes me, wherein your majesty hath much interest; since that by your favours under God, I have already overcome the difficulty of the greatest moiety of my voyage by sea. The Faire Amara, notwithstanding the calmes, contrary winds, and a terrible storme which wee endured, by the direction of admirall Clere and captain Sincler, (of whose honesty, respect, and care towards me and my retinue) I am indebted as for a thousand other favours unto your majesty, by the obedience of the shipp to those conductors. Wee were landed on Wednesday the 7th of June att Tremon, the port of Lubeck; on Saturday wee arrived att Hamborough, where I am att present, in the English house. This morning I thought not to see the evening, being tormented with a sudden indisposition and a terrible tempest, which I thought would have overthrowne me in this haven.

After an extreame paine, it pleased God to restore me my health in a good measure; so, that notwithstanding this strange accident, I hope it will be no hinderance to my voyage. I pray God preserve your majesty, and make me so happy, being returned into my owne countrey, to have the opportunity according to my smale power, to testify that I am

Your majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

HANNIBALL SCHESTEST.



*Letter from the Lord Hanniball.*

Mon Seigneur,

Vostre excellence aura reçu par un de ses serviteurs un petit billet de moy, parlant de Gluitall, sur ce qu'avions parlé, suppliant tres humblement à vostre excellence d'en avoir soins, sans aucun bruit, si la commodité de vostre excellence le permettra, je vous supplie de vouloir escrire un mot de lettres au resident d'ici, pour mieux jouir de sa bonne conversation, sur ce qui concerne la correspondance avec vostre excellence, selon que vostre excellence m'auisera je me gouverneray exactement, me fiant entièrement à la generosité de vostre excellence, m'obligeant en home de honneur de vivre et mourir,

Mon Seigneur,

de vostre excellence tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur,

HANNIBALL SCHESTEST.

Vostre excellence aura mille remerciement de l'honneur receu par ces canonades, et excusera par ma disgrâce de n'avoir ose respondre.

*The Lord Hanniball Schestest's Letter translated.* Vol. II. p. 341. F. F.

MY LORD,

YOUR excellencie will receive by one of my servants a letter from me, concerning that wee were discoursing of att Gluckstadt, most humbly entreating your excellency to think of it; and if your excellencies conveniency will permitt, to write a letter unto the resident here, that by the advantage of his good acquaintance I may be the better able to correspond with your excellence: and, according to your excellencies advice, I shall governe myselfe, being wholly at your excellencies disposall; heerin your excellency will oblige a person of honour, to live and die,

My Lord,

Your excellencies most humble and obedient servant,

HANNIBALL SCHESTEST.

I give your excellencie a thousand thanks for the honour I received by the gunns, and pray you would excuse my disgrâce in being unable to answere.



*Letter from Whitelocke to the Lord Sefed.* Vol. II. p. 341. F. F.

MY LORD,

I HAVE nothing to reply, butt my most humble thanks for the great honour you have done me by your most acceptable visits, both at Hamborough and in this place, as also in sending this gentleman that brought me your excellency's letters; when it shall please God to bring me to England, I shall not be wanting to contribute all things in my power to serve your excellency; and I hope the issue thereof will be to your content: within a few days, I hope, I shall be able to give your excellency an account of what you were pleased to mention in your letters.

The small testimony of the respects I have for your excellency, showed at your departure from my ship, which your excellency is pleased to honour by your esteem, merits not your notice; I shall be very joyfull to testify to your excellency by better effect, that I am

Your excellency's most humble and obedient servant,

B. WHITELOCKE.

*Original of a Letter from Grave Rantzow to Whitelocke.* Vol. II.  
p. 346. G. G.

MY LORD,

THE king of Denmarke, my master, hath commaunded mee to come to your excellence, and to salute you on his parte, and to bid you wellcome to his harbours; and to lett you know, that if there be any thing in this countrey, the government wherof is committed to my trust by his majesty, that it is at your commaund: his majesty also hath a great desire to see your excellence, and to entertaine you at his court, desiring to embrace all occasions, whereby he may testify the respect which he bears to his highnes my lord protector.

Whitelocke answered the Grave in French, which was to this effect.

*Original of Whitelocke's Answer to Grave Rantzow's Letter.* Vol. II.  
p. 346. H. H.

MY LORD,

I THANKE his majesty the king of Denmarke for the respect which he hath pleased to testify to his most serene highnes my master, and for the honour which he is pleased to doe to me his servant, wherof I shall not fayle to informe his highnes. I am also much obliged to your excellence for the honour of  
your



your visite, which you are pleased to give me in this place, and chiefly in so bad a season. I should also have much desired to kisse his majesty's hand, and to see his court, had not his highnes sent his shippes expressely to transport me from hence to England; and I have heard reported, that the king hath removed his court from Copenhagen elsewhere, by reason of the plague. I am very joyfull to understand of the good health of his majesty, to whom I wish all happines.

*Count Rantzow's Servant's Letter translated.* Vol. II. p. 357. I. I.

To his Excellencie my Lord Whitelocke, Ambassador Extraordinary from England, to the Queen of Sweden, most humbly.

MY LORD,

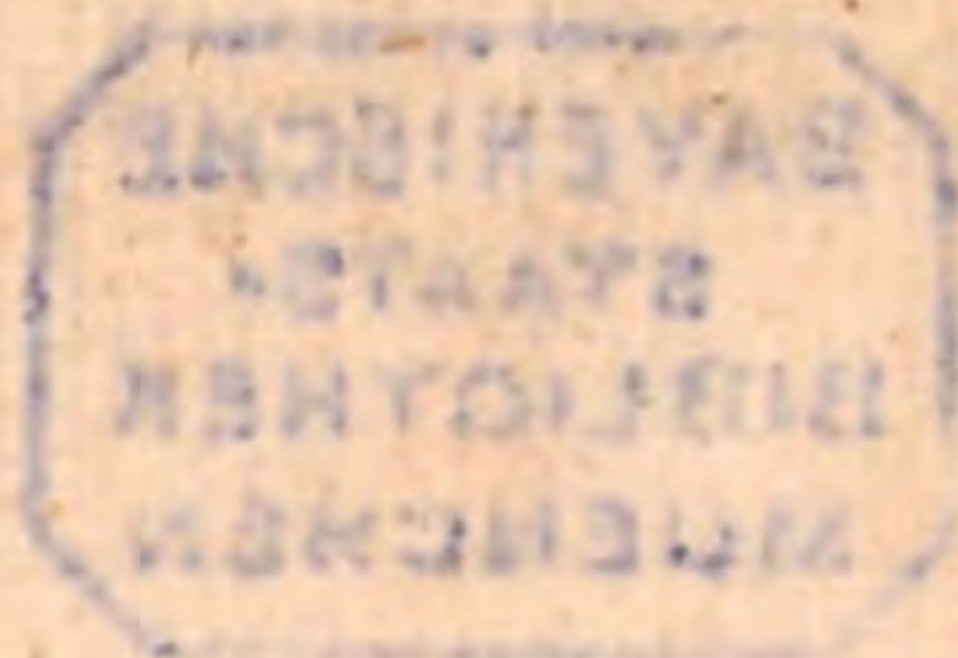
WE judge ourselves obliged to acquaint your excellencie, that our lord the count of Rantzow hath commanded us to come and kisse your excellencie's hands, with a present from him of veinson, wilde bores, hares, partridges, and carpes, beseechin your excellence to refresh yourselfe therewith dureing the obstinacy of a contrary winde, which hinders your better accommodation; and to assure your excellence how much he desires an occasion to serve you, and to knitt a more firme amite with your excellence: his excellence the count is gone to his royall majestie, whom he will not faile to acquaint with your excellencies civility towards him; and, without doubt, his majestie will espouse his interest in assisting my master, to acquit himselfe of his duty with more amplitude than fortune hath enabled him to doe.

Butt, my lord, we were soe unfortunate as to arrive att Luckstadt five or six howers after your excellence had set saile, and descended towards the sea, notwithstanding we tooke a boate immediately to follow, and not farre from the haven where wee were told your excellence was forced to stay for a better wind: we were misereably beaten by a great storme, and constrained to return without ability to performe the commands of the Count, which is an incredible displeasure; your excellencies goodnes and incomparable generosity makes us most humbly to intreat your excellence to impute rather to our misfortune the unhappy successe of this our enterprife, then the will of the Count, whose letters here inclosed to your excellence will procure more credit to our words: my lord, wee most humbly beg your excellencies pardon for our tediousness, hopping to finde a more happy opportunity to testify with a better grace, that we are passionately,

My Lord,

Your excellencies most obedient servant,

FRAN LOUIS VANDE WIEL.  
Bath Berne.





*Count Rantzow's Letter translated.*

To the most illustrious, most noble Lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, constable of the castle of Windsor, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of the Commonwealth of England, and Ambassador extraordinary to the most serene Queen of Sweden, and my much honoured Friend.

Most Illustrious and most Noble Lord, my much honoured Friend.

**T**HAT magnificent and noble entertainment your excellency bestowed uppon me yesterday, I acknowledge as a singular favour, for which I return my most hearty thanks to your excellency, desiring nothing more than an occasion whereby I might in some measure make a recompence: and seeing the perversnes of the wind hath hindered your excellency's departure hitherto, I thought it my duty to manifest my thankfullnes in presenting your excellency with some venison and fish, which I intreate your excellency to accept, being such as the season of the yeare would afford, although I heartily wish your excellency a favourable winde and a prosperous journey: nevertheless, if it happens that your excellency may be forced to continue longer in these parts, I have commanded my servants in my absence to accommodate your excellency upon all occasions, because I am to-morrow morning to take a journey towards his royall majesty, my most gracious lord.

I recommend your excellency to the divine protection, beseeching your excellency to present my service to your sons.

Your excellency's most observant and wholly devoted

23 June 1654.

CHRISTIANUS Count of RANTZOW.

F I N I S.





















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Whitlocke, Bulstrode,

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